

Rural Sociology

VOL. 3

SEPTEMBER, 1938

No. 3

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Constructive Measures for Dealing with the South's Population Problems¹

By Carl C. Taylor*

ABSTRACT

Constructive measures for dealing with the South's population problems must rest upon the fundamental fact of pressure of population on natural resources. No theoretical discussion will obviate the necessity of utilizing resident natural resources and the maximum efficiency of modern technologies including education, toward the end of sustaining as large a number of persons on the land as possible. The four general types of adjustment suggested here are: (1) the promotion of balanced farming or a maximum development of live-at-home farming; (2) the expansion of manufacturing processes of many kinds; (3) the encouragement of combined farming and industrial enterprises; and (4) the intelligent guidance of the relocation of surplus population into both farming and industrial enterprises. These suggestions are made with the conviction that they are practical steps which can be taken immediately, for the most part by local people, in a thousand communities in the South.

INTRODUCTION

For two reasons, it is undesirable to spend any considerable amount of time in discussing details of the Southern population situation. In the first place, my topic is "Constructive Measures for Dealing with the South's Population Problems." It is essential therefore to come as quickly as possible to a discussion of programs and policies. In the second place, I can assume that the members of this audience are well acquainted with the elaborate and diverse analyses that in recent years have been made of the Southern population situation. Odum, Vance, Woofter, Williams, Smith, Hamilton, Baker, Taeuber, Taylor, Thompson, Whelpton, Spengler,² and others within the last five years have dealt with the issues of

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¹ A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 2, 1938.

² Howard Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1936); Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1932); T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Replacement Rates in the Productive Ages," *Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XV (1937), 348-354; B. O. Williams, "A Population Policy for the South," *Social Forces*, XVI (October, 1937), 48-66; T. Lynn Smith, "Recent Changes in Farm Population of the Southern States," *Social Forces*, XV (March, 1937), 341-401; C. Horace Hamilton,

Southern population composition and trends. In addition to these general studies, there have been a number of detailed population analyses of specific Southern states. Further study in these fields is desirable and necessary, but a repetition of the findings of the studies already made, in terms of detailed statistics, is not necessary here.

By way of introduction to the subject assigned to me, I shall formulate a few broad generalizations which as briefly as possible state the major well-known facts concerning the composition, characteristics, and trends of the population of the thirteen Southern states; and in doing so, I shall confine myself to facts about which there can be little controversy. I shall then call your attention to a series of maps which present in graphic form data which set at least some of the issues with which constructive measures concerning Southern population problems must deal.

The framework of these issues is set by the following facts:

1. The 13 Southern states in 1930 had 27.2 per cent of the Nation's total population, but had 32.8 per cent of all those under five years of age.
2. Notwithstanding the fact that the South's rate of natural growth in population is about four times as great as the average for the nation, it had a slightly smaller per cent of the total national population in 1930 than it had in 1900.
3. Between 1920 and 1930 the South furnished, by way of migration, to the remainder of the Nation, approximately 1,400,000 more persons than it received from other parts of the Nation.
4. In 1930, 43.8 per cent of the population of the Nation was rural, but 67.9 per cent of the South was rural. The rural percentage for all non-Southern states was only 34.7.
5. For the Nation as a whole in 1930, 30 per cent of the population lived in cities of 100,000 or over, whereas in the South 12 per cent of the people lived in cities of this size. Only 10 per cent of the population of the large cities (100,000 and over) of the Nation is in the South.
6. Contrasted with this is the fact that 42.6 per cent of the rural population, and 51.5 per cent of the rural-farm population of the Nation lived in the South. The rural-farm population constituted only 24.8 per cent of the

"Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920-1930," North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 295*, 1934; O. E. Baker, "The Population Prospect of the South," paper given before National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Richmond, Va., November, 1937; Conrad Taeuber, "The Movement to Southern Farms, 1930-1935," *Rural Sociology*, III (1938), 69-76; Carl C. Taylor, Helen Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture," *Social Research Report No. VIII*, Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics (Washington, 1938); Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933); Joseph J. Spengler, "Population Problems of the South," pts. I-III (reprinted from the *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol. III, No. 4; Vol. IV, No. 1 and No. 2).

Nation, but 46.0 per cent of the South. It constituted only 16.4 per cent of the non-South's population.

7. The proportion of the urban population has increased more rapidly in the South than in the Nation as a whole in every decade since 1900, and the number of urban dwellers doubled between 1900 and 1930.
8. Southern rural-farm population was 317,609 fewer in 1930 than in 1910, but increased 487,973 between 1930 and 1935.
9. The population of the South is not increasing as rapidly as that of the remainder of the Nation; its urban population is increasing more rapidly, and its rural-farm population is decreasing less rapidly; its rural-nonfarm population is increasing less than one-fourth as rapidly as in the remainder of the Nation.
10. Both gross and net fertility rates since 1910 have been falling more rapidly in the Southern population than in the Nation as a whole. This rapid decline has been chiefly in the Southern urban population. The rural decline did not equal that for the remainder of the country.³
11. Migrations from farms during the decade 1920-1930 were greater in the South (21.2 per cent) than in the Nation as a whole (16.0 per cent). The Southern farm to village and city migration was equal to one-fifth of the number of persons living on farms in 1920.
12. The Southern states, which had contributed 60 per cent of the net migration from farms to towns and cities between 1920 and 1930, received one-third of the "back-to-the-land" migrants between 1930 and 1935.
13. The suburban trend, that is, the movement to the periphery of cities, has been very rapid in recent years.⁴
14. The South has more than its share of young persons, slightly less than its share of old persons, and considerably less than its share of persons in the middle age groups. This is because the fertility ratio is very high in the South, because the South is dominantly rural and rural birth rates exceed urban birth rates, and because it is mostly young middle aged persons who migrate out of the South.
15. Of the increase of 524,000 farms in the Nation between 1930 and 1935, 33.3 per cent were in the South. Most of the increase was in the poor-land areas.⁵
16. Between 1900 and 1930 the per cent of all Southern gainfully employed engaged in manufacturing increased from 10.5 per cent to 20.5 per cent, a gain just less than double that of the United States as a whole.
17. The per capita personal income in the Southern rural-farm population in 1929 was about two-thirds that for the farm population of the Nation; about one-third of that for the Southern nonfarm population; and about one-fifth of that for the nonfarm population of the remainder of the Na-

³ Joseph J. Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. I, pp. 401, 404.

⁴ T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

⁵ *Ibid.*

tion.⁶ The per capita income in the South from occupations and agriculture combined was, in 1929, 51 per cent of that of the non-South.⁷

B. O. Williams says, "The South had in 1932 about 16 per cent of the physical wealth of the United States and about 27 per cent of the population." "Of every one hundred dollars of personal income in the Nation in 1929, the South had about fifteen dollars; yet, of every one hundred people of the Nation that year, the South had approximately twenty-seven."⁸

18. The amount of land in farms per person gainfully employed in agriculture in 1929 was only 31.1 per cent as great in the South as in the remainder of the United States.⁹
19. There were in 1929, 304,000 "self-sufficient" farms in the South. This was 61 per cent of all those in the Nation.
20. The distribution of the gainfully employed for 1929 shows the South with almost twice as high a per cent as the Nation in extractive enterprises (agriculture, lumbering, mining, etc.) ; slightly less than the national average in transportation and communication ; about two-thirds the national per cent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits ; and less than two-thirds in services (domestic, professional, and public).¹⁰
21. The final generalization I quote directly from T. Lynn Smith's article on "Recent Changes in the Farm Population of the Southern States." He says, ". . . far-reaching changes in, and rearrangements of, the population have recently been under way. The rapid increases of farm population in suburban areas and in poor-land areas, coupled with the decreases of farm population in the better agricultural sections, offer a challenge to everyone concerned with the formulation and administration of agricultural policies, particularly for those attempting to evaluate the effects of policies recently carried out in the South."¹¹

In order to come quickly to an understanding of the heart of the problems involved in suggesting constructive programs, we shall assume that a discovery of maladjusted areas is a good starting point. These areas are depicted graphically under the seven following headings:¹²

1. Low income areas—including those counties in which 50 per cent or more of the farms in 1929 reported less than \$600 as the value of all products sold, traded, or used by the operator's family—are shown in solid black in Figure 1. The mean value of all farm products for fami-

⁶ Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. II, pp. 4, 133. *Also see* Brookings Institution, *America's Capacity to Consume*.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 48, 66.

⁹ Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. III, p. 137. *Also see* J. D. Black, *Review of Economic Statistics*, May, 1936.

¹⁰ Spengler, *op. cit.*, pt. III, p. 142.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 401.

¹² For further information concerning these criteria and the procedure used see Taylor, Wheeler, and Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*

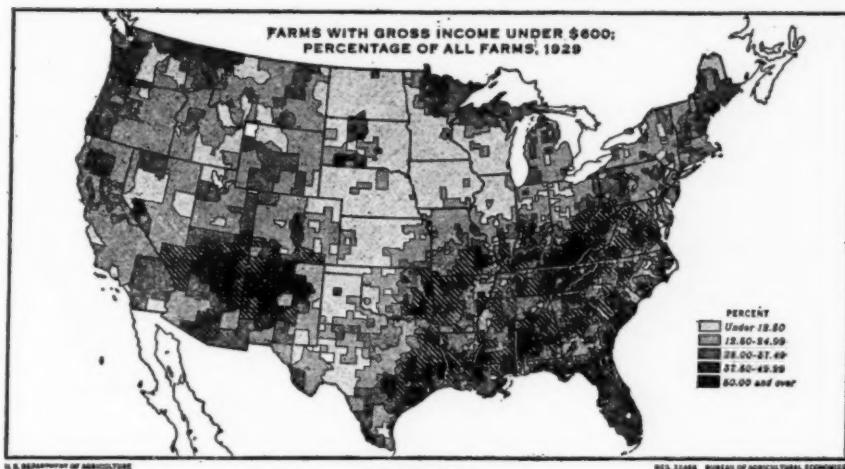


FIGURE 1

lies with incomes of less than \$600 was \$375, of which approximately one-half represents the value of farm products consumed at home.

2. Farm labor areas—including those counties in which 50 per cent or more of the persons whose gainful occupation was in agriculture, were farm laborers—are also shown in Figure 2.

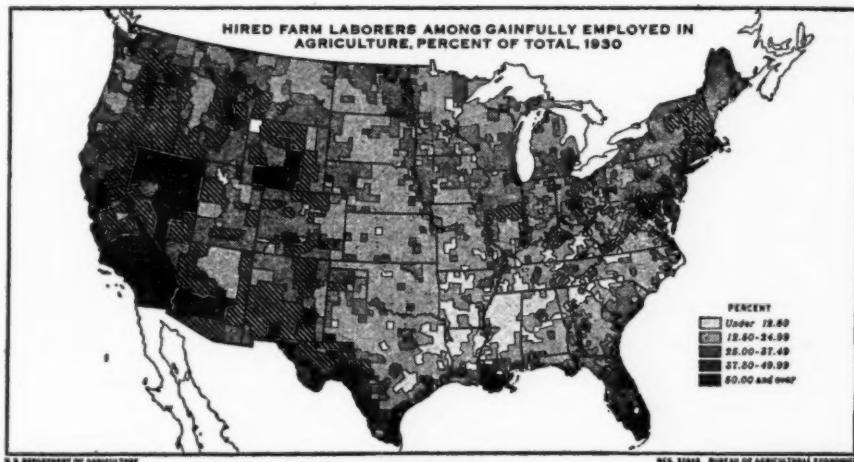


FIGURE 2

3. Farm tenancy areas—including those counties in which 50 per cent or more of the farm operators were tenants or croppers, i.e., persons who did not own any part of the land they were operating—are shown in Figure 3.

4. Poor land areas—including those counties in which 20 per cent or more of the farms should be replaced because of maladjustments in land use—are shown in Figure 4.

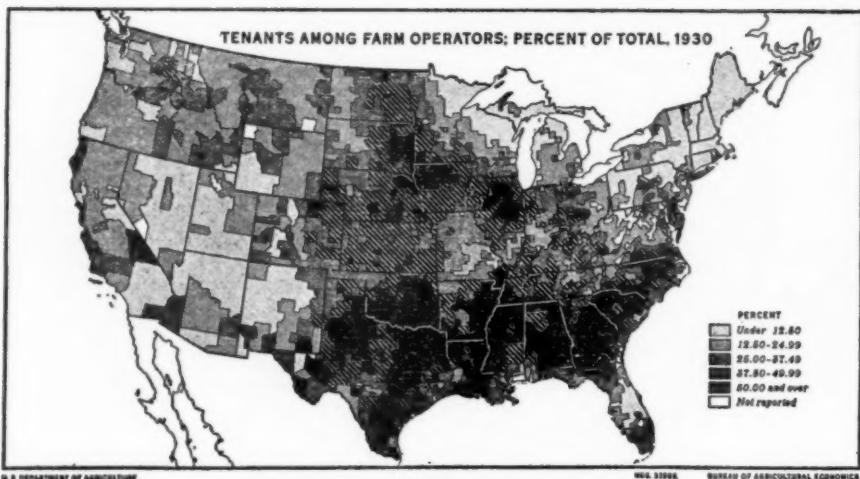


FIGURE 3

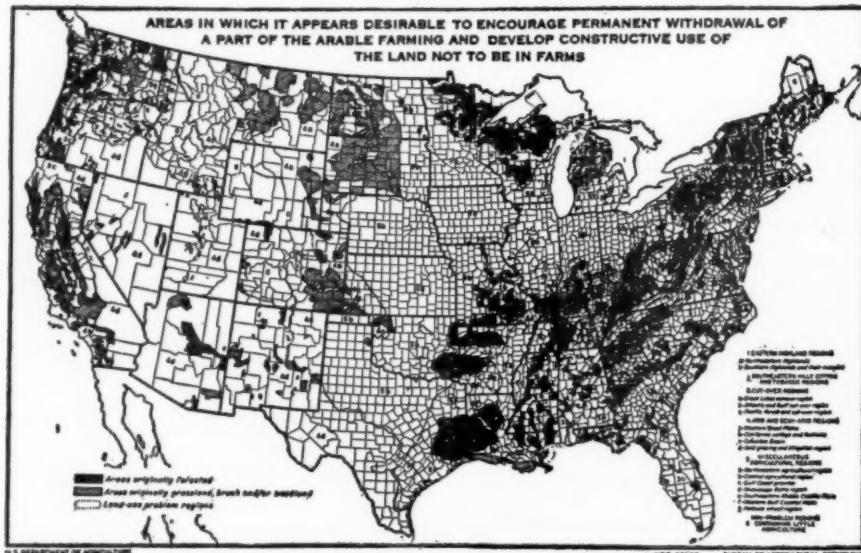


FIGURE 4

5. Migration areas—including those counties in which the rural population between 1920 and 1930 lost by migration a number of persons equivalent to 30 per cent or more of those there at the beginning of the period, taking into account the natural increase. So heavy an exodus from the rural areas of a county, may, in general, be taken as evidence of serious maladjustments (Figure 5).

6. Heavy relief areas—including those counties in which, in June, 1935, the total number of persons receiving relief, financed in whole or in part from Federal funds, was equal to or greater than 30 per cent of the population of the county in 1930 (Figure 6).

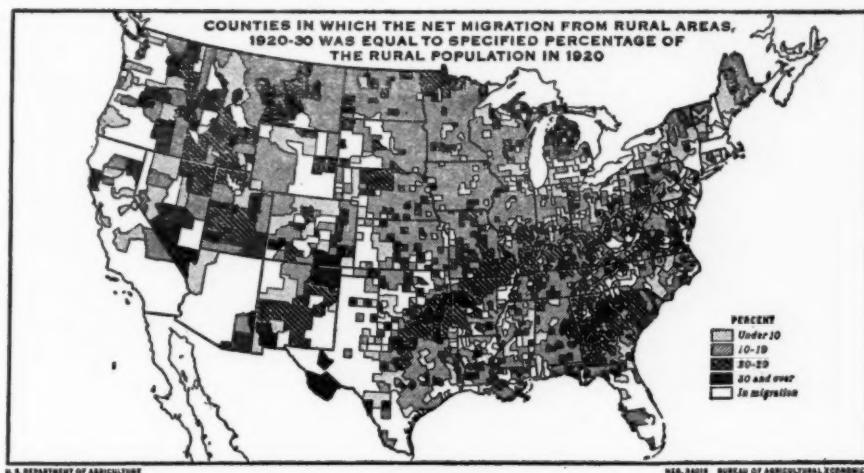


FIGURE 5

7. Areas of low rural-farm standards of living—including those counties in which a standard of living index was 20 or less; the range for the index being from 0 to 100. The ratings were based upon the proportion of farm homes possessing such facilities as electric lights, water piped to the dwelling, telephone, radio, and the proportion of farms reporting an automobile (Figure 7).

It is clear that to a large extent these seven items are interrelated and that in general they show persistent population maladjustments. The chief exceptions are that a high percentage of farm laborers are very often associated with a high agricultural income for the area, and that only the Southern tenant belt should be considered in this discussion. In the areas of high income, where the great volume of farm laborers is located, the farm laborers do not participate equitably in the high income, and it is only the Southern tenant who is almost universally a low income farmer.

The mapping of each type of maladjustment clearly reveals areas in which is concentrated population subjected to the condition being considered. When these areas are compared, it becomes clear that in certain areas in the Nation the farm inhabitants for one or more reasons are securing a level of living which is relatively very low.

There are 769 counties in the United States, all of which are included in at least two of the maps presented here; that is, all have at least two disadvantaging factors or conditions which tend to lower the capacity of large segments of the farm population within these counties to attain satisfactory levels of living. Six hundred and sixty-seven, or 86.7 per cent of those counties are in the 13 Southern states (Figure 8).

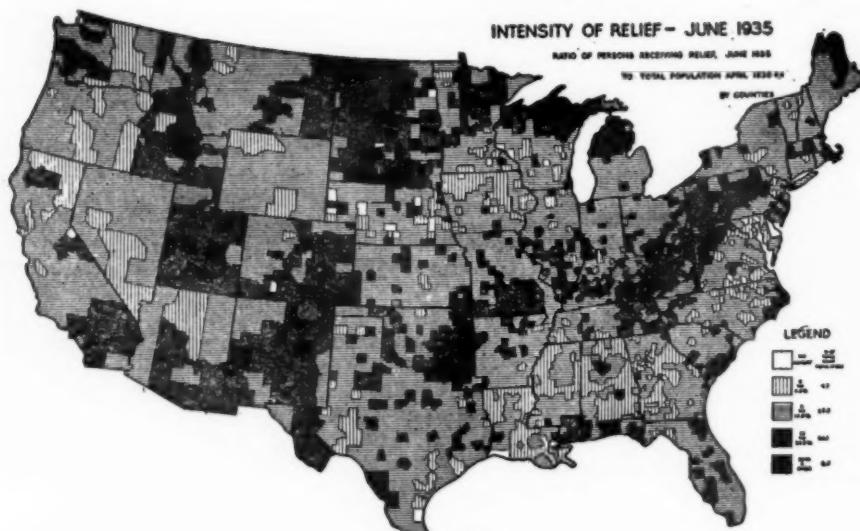


FIGURE 6

GENERAL TRENDS TOWARD ADJUSTMENT OR MALADJUSTMENT

Before we begin any detailed discussion of population programs for the South as a whole, it is well to give some consideration to the two chief types of problem areas included in this large region. Other sub-regions, each with peculiar characteristics, could be described,¹⁸ but for the purpose of the types of analyses sought here we shall mention only the Mountain areas and the Cotton Belt. These two areas are geographically mutually exclusive and in some of their population problems are quite different. They do not cover the whole South, but will serve as

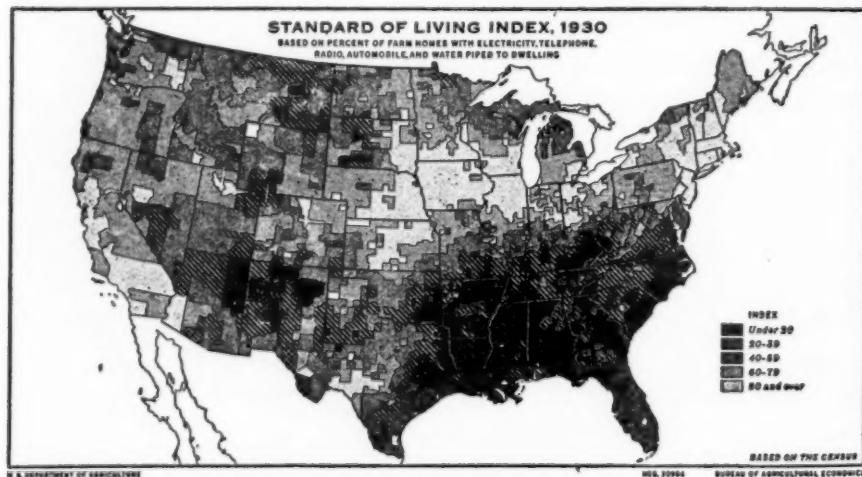


FIGURE 7

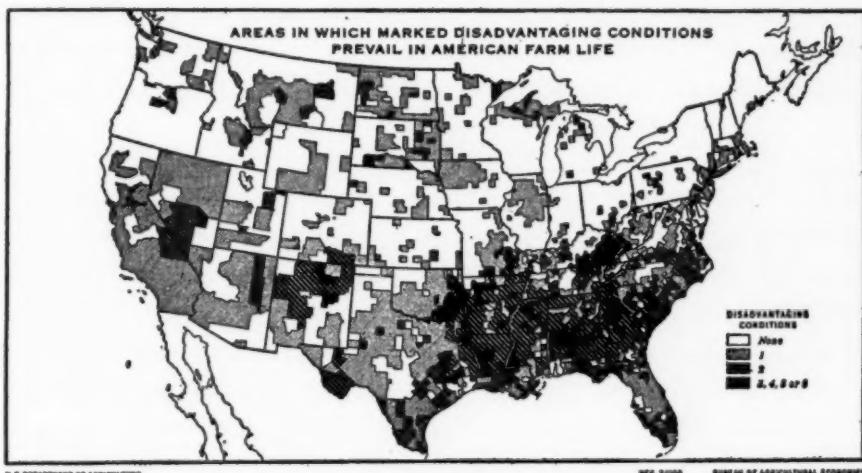


FIGURE 8

major subregions for the discussion of the issues at stake in considering programs and policies for action.

In Asch and Mangus's classification of the Eastern and Western Cotton belts, there are 575 counties. In their classification of the Appalachian-Ozark mountain areas, there are 265 counties, or a total of 840 counties which are either Cotton Belt or Mountain counties in the two subregions of the South which we are discussing. Of the 575 Cotton counties, 401 of them appear in black or near-black in Figure 8. Of the 265 Mountain counties, 140 appear in black or near-black. Thus, approximately 70 per cent of all Cotton counties, and 53 per cent of all Mountain counties are counties in which two or more disadvantaging factors prevail, as revealed in the figures presented.

In some types of problems these two subregions are similar, but in others they are quite dissimilar. They are similar in that both are areas of high birth rates and small farms; each has more than the national proportion of young persons; each is dominantly rural; both are areas of low farm income and low standards of living. Net migration between 1920 and 1930 was heavy in both areas. They are dissimilar in that the Cotton Belt is a dominantly cash crop area and the Mountain Area is dominantly a self-sufficing farming area; urbanization is taking place more rapidly in the Cotton Belt than in the Mountain areas; farms have increased more rapidly in the Mountain areas than in the Cotton Belt; there is little tenancy in the mountains but very much of it in the Cotton Belt. Nonfarm employment opportunities have been increasing in the

¹⁸ See especially chaps. 16 and 19 in Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States*.

Cotton Belt but decreasing in the Mountain areas. These differences should be kept in mind in considering suggested constructive measures for dealing with the population problems of the South as a whole.

POLICIES OF ADJUSTMENT NEEDED

In discussing possible and desirable constructive policies and programs we shall keep in mind trends already in operation in the South and similar trends which have taken place to a greater extent in other sections of the Nation. We shall also keep in mind the differences between the physiographic and cultural features of the South and other sections of the Nation. Nor shall we overlook the fact that there is a difference in 1938, when the South is confronted with some of the same types of population problems with which some other sections of the Nation were confronted in 1878, 1898, or 1918. We shall not, therefore, assume that we can blithely borrow blueprints for the South in 1938 from New England, the Northeastern, or North Central states in other decades. We can and should learn from the trends and practices in other sections and other periods, but something more is needed if we would attack Southern population maladjustments in the light of the South's greatest physical and cultural opportunities.

We shall propose four general types of adjustment: two related to farm population, one related to urban population, and one related to both farm and urban, i.e., to rural-nonfarm and village population. They are: (1) the promotion of balanced farming or a maximum development of "live-at-home farming," i.e., the maximum expansion of home-produced farm products for farm home consumption; (2) the expansion of manufacturing processes of many kinds; (3) the encouragement of combined farm and industrial enterprises; and (4) the intelligent guidance of the relocation of surplus Southern population, to both farming and industrial opportunities.

It is not a digression at this point to state why unlimited and uncontrolled production of farm products will not solve these problems. The reasons are simple. *First*, the South's welfare demands the conservation of its land above all other natural resources as a cure for a too exploitative system of production in the past and a prophylactic against its continuance in the future; *second*, if maximum efficiency in producing volume of farm products is practiced, it is already clear that commercial agriculture cannot absorb population in excess of that which is now engaged in the production of farm products for the market.

One cannot study the unplanned trends which we have mentioned and not know that the solution offered by some people of retaining on Southern farms all of the population that originates there and asking Southern agriculture in times of depression to absorb the unemployed of the city, simply will not work in terms of social welfare. Such a solution would result not only in low farm prices for all farmers, because they would overproduce their markets, but would mean that the excess farm population, swollen by those who return from the city, would simply pile up, as they are now doing, in the poor-land areas of the South.

We have little to offer by way of suggestions for reducing the birth rate in these Southern problem areas. This is a subject which requires much further study before engaging upon any policies toward that end. Furthermore, experience in this country indicates that the breaking down of the isolation of rural areas and the increased amount of education have so affected attitudes toward family size and reproduction that a reduction in rates of increase has followed. At the present stage of our knowledge it is not clear that rates of natural increase are subject to planned manipulation. Our view is based on the assumption that the basic adjustments must be made with the persons already born and growing to adulthood now.

Furthermore, it is clear that a decrease in the birth rates in these disadvantaged areas will not quickly alter the situation, or decrease the necessity for other remedies, for it is obvious that even if there should be a precipitous decline in birth rates, its major effect would not be felt until 18 to 20 years hence. In the meantime, on the farms in the states most affected, the available openings on farms due to death or retirement are only about one-half to one-third as numerous as the number of young people reaching maturity and becoming available for these jobs.¹⁴

Nor does it seem profitable to view with alarm the fact that disproportionately large numbers of our population are born in areas which on the basis of past performance are classified as problem areas. The place where a person is born is not a measure of his innate capacities, anymore so than the month of his birth.

The most universally applicable remedy for farm population pressure in the South is the development of the highest degree possible of balanced farming, in which "live-at-home" farming on the best as well as on the relatively poor lands is practiced. I should like to expand upon

¹⁴ Woofter, *op. cit.* The replacement rates given are in terms of rates of increase in the age group 18-65, but can be adapted to the form of the statement made above.

this statement with special reference to the two subregions into which I have divided the South for the purposes of this discussion. The largest so-called self-sufficient farming area of the United States lies almost altogether in the Mountain sections of the South; in other words, in a poor-land area. The Cotton section of the South, on the other hand, has a very low percentage of self-sufficient farms, and the best cotton land in the South, namely the Delta, has practically no self-sufficient farms. The type of "live-at-home" farming which I am referring to should be most easily and most universally practiced on the best lands as well as on the poorest lands.

The promotion of such a system of farming is not, as some argue, an attempt to turn back the pages of farming progress. It is an attempt to write the greatest degree of security possible under the lives of millions of farm families who have their destinies in their own hands to a greater extent than any other segment of our population, and who, in the South as in no other section of the Nation, have the climatic conditions feasible to this type of farming.

Woofter shows in his plantation study that there are tremendous deficits in the farm home production of food products needed in the Southern states. His statistics for the state of Alabama show a deficit of 27 per cent in meat, 37 per cent in milk, 11 per cent in potatoes, 76 per cent in apples, and 60 per cent in vegetables other than potatoes.¹⁵ An analysis of all of the counties with three or more disadvantaging factors in Figure 8 in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi show that for all the farms in these counties in 1930, 38.4 per cent of them had no milch cows, 47.1 per cent churned no butter, 17.1 per cent had no chickens, and 24 per cent had no vegetable gardens.

The preliminary reports of the study of consumer purchases, made by the Bureau of Home Economics, show that quite consistently the low-income farmers of the South are the ones who produce the smallest amount of food for family use, and the lower the income the smaller amount that is produced. In Georgia, for instance, the nonrelief families in the sample whose total average family income was less than \$500 per year produced only \$222 in food; whereas those whose incomes were between \$500 and \$1,000 produced \$364 worth of food; and every group with an income of more than \$1,000 produced \$500 worth or

¹⁵ T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation," *Research Monograph V*, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, Table 16, p. 47.

more of food.¹⁶ The same general trend was true among Mississippi farm families, and the same thing was true for Negro and white families—those with the lowest farm income consistently produced a smaller amount of their home supplies than those with higher incomes.¹⁷ This is exactly the reverse of what a "live-at-home" program would dictate, for in such a program those with the lowest farm incomes would raise their standards of living by producing not only a higher per cent, but a greater amount of home-consumed goods.

There is no marked difference between cash crop farmers in the Cotton Belt and self-sufficing farmers in the Mountain areas, as far as this trend in behavior is concerned. For two North Carolina counties in which self-sufficient farming predominates, the statistics are as follows: for all families receiving less than \$500 per year total income, \$260 worth of food was produced during the year; for those receiving between \$500 and \$1,000, \$455 worth of food was produced; and for all classes with over \$1,000 income, more than \$600 worth of food was grown at home. The highest income group in these counties, namely those receiving \$3,000 or over annual income, produced \$738 worth of food for home consumption.¹⁸ It is thus perfectly clear that thousands of low income farm families in the South, by producing more than \$700 worth rather than less than \$400 worth of food for home consumption, and in many cases less than \$200 worth, could raise their standards of living by means of factors which lie within their own control.

Woofter's plantation study also shows that the production by tenants and sharecroppers of home consumable products was so slight that the advances from the commissaries during the summer months were not influenced in the least by the production for home consumption of products which these tenant and cropper families under a "live-at-home" program could have completely furnished themselves. Farm families by the hundreds of thousands in the Cotton Belt of the South could not only improve their material standard of living by producing these products at home, but could save the money which they now spend for food products, and use that money to purchase from the market additional

¹⁶ *Study of Consumer Purchases*, Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. D. A., Preliminary Release, Table F-442-3, "Eight Counties in Georgia, Farm Operators."

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, Table F-N-432-3, "Farms in Leflore and Washington Counties in Mississippi, Negro Farm Operators"; F-N-512-3, "Negro Farm Sharecroppers"; F-422-3, "Farms in Bolivar, Leflore, Sunflower, and Washington Counties in Mississippi, White Farm Operators"; F-472-3, "White Farm Sharecroppers."

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, Table F-242-3, "Jackson and Macon Counties in North Carolina, Self-Sufficing Farms."

things they do not now have. I have personally never been able to understand why anyone imagines that those of us who urge "live-at-home" farming assume that such a system of farming would in any way reduce the practice of also producing for the market. The plain facts are that at the present time the people about whom we are talking not only fail to a considerable extent to produce their home supplies, but they fail to buy many things which they should have because they must spend what little cash comes into their hands to *purchase* food supplies instead of other things.

All of the detailed studies that have been made of the standard of living of Southern tenants and sharecroppers show that the theory that these people should produce the cash crops for which they have a recognized comparative advantage and purchase from other agricultural sections of the Nation those products in which they are at a comparative disadvantage, does not work out in terms of adequate food supplies for cotton farmers. Freight, storage, financing, and middleman costs are so great between the different geographic areas of the Nation that farmers with as little cash as most Cotton Belt farmers have, do not provide good markets for family consumption products grown in other regions. The result is that there is an absence of milk, eggs, fruits, and vegetables in the diets of hundreds of thousands of Southern farm families. The practical, feasible, and immediately applicable remedy is the production on Southern farms of these products for home consumption. This means a higher degree of self-sufficient farming which is really "sufficient" in terms of human welfare. It is a problem in planning and promoting a definite type of rural culture in the same intelligent and vigorous fashion that we now promote programs of soil conservation, rural rehabilitation, agricultural production and price adjustments, and better land adjustments.

Industrial development in the South has been rapid during the last three decades and has contributed greatly to the alleviation of population pressure on the land. Opportunities for employment in other than the extractive industries have in fact been increasing in the Southern states more rapidly than in any other part of the country, and although the increase in wage jobs in no type of industry has been large, the upward trend has continued during the depression years, at a time when such jobs were decreasing in numbers in most other sections of the country. There is still, however, much opportunity for expansion.

The assumption that it is feasible to expand many types of industry in

the South is based upon the following considerations: (1) The South is the producer of a great diversity and a great volume of raw materials, agricultural, mineral, and ceramic, which pass through refining and fabricating processes before they reach the consumer. (2) The rapid development of electrical power in the Southern Appalachians will provide one of the major requisites to industrial development. (3) There is a superabundance of labor supply. With raw materials, power, and labor supply, little more is needed than the type of enterprise which can and will integrate these fundamental elements into a vast industrial development.

In addition to these factors, of course, the South must have increased capital. To borrow this capital, however, from areas outside of the South is simply to burden the South with debt, or, in other words, transfer a part of the ownership of the capital assets to other sections of the country by way of mortgage and bonded indebtedness. Here again, the South should lift itself by its own bootstraps, which it could very easily do by producing a far larger percentage of its consumable goods and building a great reservoir of capital out of funds which now flow annually to other sections of the country for the purchase of the very consumable goods which can be most easily produced in the South.

There is a definite caution, however, that should be expressed concerning the nature and type of industrial development that should take place in order to guarantee the greatest economic and social opportunity for the present excess population of the South. Too much of the industrial development of the South has been in the fields of industry which demanded either unskilled or semiskilled labor. This, as Heer points out, is the chief explanation of why industrial development has not raised the income of Southern producers to the extent that it has in other sections of the country. Mountain farmers and sharecroppers have shifted into the mills on low wage levels to produce the coarser rather than the finer products of factory-made goods. Towns and cities have sought industries in order to multiply smokestacks and create pay rolls without giving due consideration to the fact that the wages paid to industrial workers are of equal or greater importance than any and all other factors. At the present time, the lag in Southern wage rates is almost as great as the lag in agricultural income and therefore does not offer the degree of solution to the Southern population problem which it will offer when the industrial wage rate lag is reduced.¹⁹

¹⁹ Carter Goodrich, *et al.*, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, The Report of the Study of Population Redistribution (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 130-131; and Clarence Heer, *Income and Wages in the South* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1930), ch. III.

Another applicable remedy is probably the combination of farming and other occupations. This can be "subsistence homesteading" not only near large cities but near smaller cities and towns and in rural villages. Because of modern means of transportation and recent developments in transmissible power, there can be a considerable decentralization of industry; and by a little nurture and guidance, there can be a great expansion in handicraft production. Handicrafts are being slowly eliminated from our rural districts because no one is giving adequate attention to markets for them. This means not only the loss of at least some possible income to thousands of farm families, but the elimination from our rural civilization of one of the most creative elements in it.

In the Mountain areas of the South, it is not only a fact that farm families are trying to make a living on small, poor-land farms, but that they have lost income from outside employment by the steady depletion of other natural resources. The possibility of introducing small-scale industry should not be overlooked when planning for adjustments in these regions. It is here that cheap electrical power is going to be available in great quantities, and it is here that home-craftsmanship is more highly developed than in any other section of the Nation. I am not preaching Utopias of highly organized rural-industrial communities in these areas. I am saying that the self-sufficient farming that is here could be made more sufficient, that the practice of soil conservation could save for future generations much of the land which is now being rapidly wasted, and that the application of the greatest intelligence and planning possible toward the end of reintroducing opportunities for supplementary income from nonfarm employment would probably leave many people in these areas who, without this combination of practices and enterprises, will either have to move out en masse or gradually but surely fall to lower levels of living.

There is no question that many of the more than three million farm families of the Nation which in 1929 produced only 11 per cent of the market farm products could make a better living if they would move to better lands. Nor is there any question that better lands can be found for them. If they had twice as good a land base as they now have and would use the land to produce the maximum usable products for home consumption, they probably could raise their material standards of living by at least 50 per cent without becoming involved in the market to any greater extent than at the present. The issue is not, however, primarily one of finding better land for these self-sufficient farmers, for that would

be comparatively easy; it is not the issue of increasing their capacities for producing more home consumable goods, for this could be accomplished not only by getting them on better lands but by their learning more about canning and preserving foods, and home crafts of all kinds. The real issue is whether these people would retain their self-sufficient culture if they left their relative isolation and settled in the communities where commercial farming was universal. Unless they exercised conscious control and unless there was promoted in these communities a planned program of self-sufficient farming they would probably, within a generation be attempting to "make a killing" in cotton, tobacco, or some other commercial crop and thus would destroy their old self-contained culture while they increased the volume of farm products offered to the market.

Even so, there should be a resettlement program, an intelligently conceived and conservatively conducted program of guidance for already highly mobile populations in their attempts to find better orientation to the land resources. Such a program should include employment services, vocational education, actual loans, and farm and home supervision to help "resettlers" establish themselves in new locations.

Some steps have already been taken in this direction. The Subsistence Homesteads program was the first. This was followed by the so-called "submarginal land" purchase program, then the "rural-industrial-community" program of the F.E.R.A., and finally by the Rural Resettlement program. In addition to these was the relocation program of the T.V.A., necessitated by the evacuation of areas flooded by the water reservoirs created by power and flood control dams. All of these programs have been more successful than is generally believed by the public. The fact that many of the projects have cost a great deal more money than they should, ought not to keep us from seeing that after the experimental stage of their early development is past, they present the right blueprint for solving a part of the problem with which we are dealing in this paper.

The Subsistence Homesteads program not only established a number of suburban settlements, but also a number of small farm projects. The suburban projects promote the combination of urban employment and subsistence gardening at the periphery of cities. The farm projects assist stranded coal miners and Southern tenant farmers to become self-sufficient farm owners. The "Rural Industrial Community" projects make a definite attempt to encourage the decentralization of small industries; and the "Submarginal Land Purchase Program" removes from wrong

uses lands where soil wastage is taking place so rapidly as to jeopardize the standards of living of the population in these areas.

CONCLUSION

It is more than likely that sooner or later a turn in economic trends will again stimulate a marked flow of farm population to industrial centers. Even if this movement should become as great in magnitude as in the decade between 1920 and 1930, the data presented in the early part of this paper would seem to prove that there would still exist rural population problem areas in the South. Unguided migration will undoubtedly continue, but it has not solved the problems of these areas in the past. There is no reason to believe it will solve them in the future. Increase in the mechanization and commercialization of farming will multiply the problems of population adjustment. Crop control and price adjustments only slightly affect one-half of the disadvantaged farms of the South—those in the mountains. Relief, unless it is something more than "made work" or the "dole," probably tends to stabilize populations in areas which should be migrative. Something more is needed if we would attack farm population maladjustments by means of constructive and rehabilitative policies.

The suggestions made and discussed here would seem to us to be worthy not only of detailed study, but of actual, conscious promotion in the South. They are proposed as practical solutions, by which I mean they are programs which can be definitely promoted, and probably will be definitely promoted, just as soon as adequate analyses are made of the situations in terms of the populations living in these problem areas, and as soon as consideration is given to the first immediately practicable steps that can be taken.

These first steps, if they be in the channels which I have suggested, will not necessarily be steps toward building the Pittsburgh or Detroit type of industrial centers in the South, nor will they be steps in the direction of large-scale corporation farms such as may be feasible in the extensive Wheat Belt. They will include as much "live-at-home" farming as is feasible, as much expansion of manufacturing processes as can be done by the South itself, as many combined farm and industrial enterprises as the natural resources and the development of technology will permit, and the relocation of as much of the population as careful study and wise planning will dictate. They will be steps taken in the light of the fact that the South already has a culture of its own; that it has a

climatic situation different from all other sections of the country; that within the next 50 years the technologies of manufacturing will probably be vastly different from what they were in the periods when other regions of the Nation developed industrially; and that the practical approach is to take the Southern situation as it is today and make the greatest utilization possible of the natural resources in the South by means of the best technologies now in existence or to be developed, toward the end of furnishing to its people the highest standard of living possible in terms of nonmaterial and cultural factors as well as material and economic factors.

Problems of Rural Life Focused by the Depression¹

*Dwight Sanderson**

ABSTRACT

The depression has affected rural life mostly on the economic side, but indirectly it has had a considerable influence on its social organization. It has given a larger place to the subsistence values of rural life. It has given impetus to soil conservation. County organization of rural social work, direct attack on the tenancy problem and a strong movement for federal aid to the common schools are other movements resulting from the depression. Farmers have become convinced of the necessity of collective action, but it has also become apparent that their interests are regional, and that the integration of the opposing interests of different regions is essential for a national policy for agriculture. These movements have all been conducive to a reconsideration of the fundamental values of rural life.

In a recent memorandum² I have analyzed the effects of the depression upon rural life and have indicated the research problems arising as a consequence. I can at this time, therefore, do little more than to summarize what seem to be some of the most important movements in rural life which have been focused by the depression and to point out their sociological significance. For we must recognize that a major depression is much like a war in that it tends to hasten certain movements which were already under way rather than to create a wholly new situation. Furthermore, it must also be recognized that it is impossible to segregate the strictly social effects of the depression from the economic and political problems involved, and that the agricultural depression started in 1921 and was gradually righting itself when submerged by the industrial depression of 1930.

1. *Subsistence Values of Rural Life.* During the past two generations, there has been a rapid rise of commercial agriculture with a tendency to conceive its problems largely in terms of business management, monetary income and expenditure. At the same time, there was from 1910

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¹ Read at the meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., April 16, 1938.

² Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life During the Depression," Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 34, New York, 1937.

to 1930 an actual decrease in the rural-farm population owing to rural-urban migration. As a result of the partial stoppage of the rural-urban migration and of an increase of urban-rural migration, the farm population actually increased between 1930 and 1935, for the first time in a generation. As in all major depressions, the farms of the country bore the brunt of the depression and had to provide for an increased population. With low prices and poor markets, farmers were forced to become more self-subsistent. Furthermore, there was a marked increase in part-time farming and the need of relief brought attention to the large proportion of farms which should be classed as subsistence farms, i.e., which produce more for home consumption than for sale.

There has been, therefore, a marked increase in the appreciation of what may be called the subsistence values of farm life. This term includes not only the actual produce which may be obtained from the land for food, fuel, and shelter, but also the values of homemade goods of all sorts and the intangibles of homemade forms of recreation and leisure time activities as contrasted with commercial amusements. Attention has been turned from the idea of a rural culture based chiefly on a money economy to the possibilities of one which, although requiring a money income, may rest more largely on the goods which it creates, and which, at the same time, may be productive of a better and more stable living.

A large proportion of the families of farm operators who are now classed as commercial farmers, notably the share croppers and tenants of the South, would be much better off if they could develop a more self-subsistent type of farming, since they produce more for sale than for home consumption. When all of these classes are considered there is found to be a very large proportion, the exact percentage depending upon the definitions used, of people living on and from the land whose condition could be vastly improved if their better subsistence was given primary consideration in the development of agricultural policies. This problem is now being given thorough consideration by the Federal Department of Agriculture, and as a result of the depression we shall see a much more aggressive policy of attempting to improve the condition of this large class of farmers rather than merely to increase the production of agricultural products.

2. *Soil Conservation.* The depression has given new impetus to soil conservation and rise to new attitudes toward responsibility for the use of the soil. One of the chief factors in producing high relief rates in

some sections has been the loss of soil fertility or the actual loss of the soil through erosion from water or wind. The evils of soil erosion have long been observed in the South, but no general attack on the problem had been made until the Federal Government undertook its comprehensive surveys of land use, and soil erosion surveys were made to show the seriousness of the problem. Simultaneously, the unprecedented droughts in the Western Great Plains resulted in the creation of the Dust Bowl, in which there were unheard of losses through wind erosion.

As a phase of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program, there has been developed a system of compensation for soil conservation and soil improvement practices, which has formed an incentive to farmers to give more thought to the prevention of soil depletion and to soil improvement. As a result of these and other factors, there is growing up slowly among American farmers a new attitude concerning their responsibility for the maintenance of the soil. The old doctrine that he who owned the land could do with it as he pleased is gradually giving way to a theory of trusteeship, and here and there are to be found farmers who feel that, although they would not favor government ownership, the government should have the right to control or take over temporarily land which is being seriously neglected or abused. That the farmer should be a trustee of the soil has long been advocated by the prophets of agriculture, such as Liberty Hyde Bailey.⁸ The common control of the land is an ancient right of the rural community, although forgotten in this country since the early colonies in Massachusetts, but it required the pinch of the depression over large areas of formerly fertile soil to make men recognize that no nation can survive which squanders its soil. This is not in itself a social problem, but its implications will have a considerable effect upon the social organization of rural life.

3. *Rural Social Work.* Prior to the World War, there was little organized social work in rural communities in this country. The Red Cross introduced Home Service for the families of enlisted men and later extended its work to civilians in some counties, but until the industrial depression only a small fraction of the rural counties had any adequate organization for welfare work. The assumption of responsibility for relief by the Federal Government and its requirement of a county unit for local administration put rural social work on the map and the cost of this work rose from a minor item of the county budget to second or third place, along with roads and schools.

⁸ See his *The Holy Earth* (New York, 1915).

For the first time, rural people came to get some knowledge of the fact that unwise relief often does as much harm as good, and they commenced to see some of the values of social case work, although their reaction to the introduction of professional social workers was by no means uniformly favorable. They became aware that, on the one hand, there are a considerable number of relief cases which should be cared for at public expense, which previously had been largely neglected, and that, on the other hand, it is better to make an investment in the rehabilitation of families which are competent to make their own living than to merely give them relief.

The rehabilitation agents, first appointed by the F.E.R.A. and now under the Farm Security Board of the United States Department of Agriculture, have done a worth-while job, but have revealed the fact that the qualifications for this type of work should be a combination of those of the social welfare worker and the agricultural extension agent. This combination rarely exists and the new type of rural public welfare worker will have to be trained for the job.⁴ The extension workers in agriculture and home economics lack the essential knowledge of social case work, and are already fully occupied with dealing with farm families who do not need case work, while the social welfare workers lack a knowledge of agricultural and rural life. Notable advances have been made in the training of rural social workers, but it is questionable whether the average school of social work, located in a city and dealing with urban conditions, can successfully meet the need. Two or three schools of social work at state universities are specializing in this field, but there will need to be a considerable expansion of such training courses at other state universities and land grant colleges before the problem will be met satisfactorily. That there is an appreciation of this need is attested by a recent resolution of a conference of presidents of state universities and land grant colleges of the Northwest, who invited their national organization to make a thorough study of the need for an expansion of such training courses at their institutions. The depression has definitely created the professional field of rural social work.

4. *Tenancy.* Although there is a general impression that the depression increased the amount of farm tenancy, the 1935 Census of Agriculture shows that the proportion of tenants did not increase from 1930 to 1935. This does not mean, however, that the tenancy problem is not

⁴ Cf. Josephine C. Brown, *The Rural Community and Social Case Work*, Family Welfare Association of America (New York, 1933), chap. V, and particularly p. 71.

more serious than ever, for the proportion remained stationary because many share tenants had become farm laborers, and many owners had declined to the status of tenants.

It has long been known that rural communities with a high percentage of tenants have poorer institutions because of the mobility of tenants, but the studies made of relief clients during the industrial depression and the fact that tenants formed a large proportion of those needing relief drew attention to the handicaps of the tenant families and, particularly, to the dire condition of the sharecroppers of the South. The public conscience has been aroused as never before to the practical serfdom of large masses of white Southern croppers, whose condition is relatively more precarious than that of the Negroes. As a result, we have had the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy and the passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (Public No. 210, 75th Congress, Chapter 517, 1st Session) entitled "to create the Farmers' Home Corporation, to promote more secure occupancy of farms and farm homes, to correct the instability resulting from some present forms of farm tenancy, and for other purposes"; and a constructive policy of gradually working out a solution of this problem with governmental aid and supervision.

In this connection it is important to note that the proportion of farm products used by the farm family decreases with the proportion of tenancy. Thus, in a scatter diagram of 489 counties in the Corn Belt, Turner⁵ shows that "there is a decided relationship between the degree of commercialism in the agriculture and the percentage of farms operated by tenants. The smaller proportion of farm products which are used by the farm family, the higher the rate of tenancy." The same fact has been brought out by Woofter⁶ in his study of tenants on cotton plantations, in which he finds that the net income of the tenant family increases with the amount received as income from home use production, and that this is inversely related to the proportion of the acreage in cotton (the income from products used at home decreasing with the proportion of acreage in cotton). Tenancy, therefore, decreases the subsistence values of farming, whereas one of the chief values of living on

⁵ H. A. Turner, "A Graphic Summary of Farm Tenure," United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 261*, Washington, D. C., 1936, fig. 64, p. 43.

⁶ T. J. Woofter, Jr., and others, "Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph 5*, Washington, D. C., 1936, p. 84 and Appendix Table 40.

the land should be in the opportunity for the farm family to grow part of its living and thus to have greater security.

The tenancy problem is so complex that it will not be solved in the near future, but it is being attacked more earnestly than ever before and it seems probable that the work inaugurated as a result of the present depression may result in establishing a new policy looking toward the decrease of tenancy and the betterment of the tenants' status.

5. *Rural Education.* One important fact revealed by the studies of relief families in rural areas is the high proportion of illiteracy and lack of schooling among them, which undoubtedly is related to their dependency, and which limits the possibility of their rehabilitation. This is particularly noticeable in the South, but it is true of the whole country. In the counties studied in the survey of rural problem areas Beck and Forster found that "one-half of the Negro family heads and one-fifth of the whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt report no schooling, and four-fifths of the Negroes and about one-half of the whites had less than five years. Although the percentage of family heads with no schooling in the Appalachian-Ozark Area was less than for whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt, the proportion that had completed fewer than five grades (56 per cent) was larger."⁷

It is obvious from all of the studies made that any permanent improvement in the condition of the type of people who are relief clients must involve their better education.

The depression has also shown the need for better educational facilities through the larger number of youth who have been prevented from migrating to cities and who, therefore, seek more schooling at home. This has increased the school population in many communities least able to support it.

Both of these factors have contributed to the demand for federal aid for education in the states with least ability to support public education. This has been embodied in the Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, recently transmitted to the Congress by the President,⁸ which advocates that there be liberal federal aid for public schools on a basis of equalizing the cost to the poorer states, and that this aid be on a basis which will lead to the reorganization of rural school districts so as to

⁷ P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, "Six Rural Problem Areas," Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Research Section, *Research Monograph I*, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 90.

⁸ *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education*, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, House Document 529, 1938.

give better school facilities through consolidation of rural schools and the better support of rural high schools.

A very extensive investigation of the rural school system in New York State made by the Regents' Committee of Inquiry is to be published shortly and will also advocate a thorough reorganization of rural school facilities. These and other similar studies will undoubtedly result in some measure of federal aid and in a general movement for the improvement of rural education. An important aspect of this movement from the sociological standpoint is that making the rural school district a community unit and making the rural school a community center are specifically advocated, and the part which rural sociologists may play in the redistricting of rural areas is pointed out by the President's Advisory Committee. The final results of this whole movement will doubtless be as far-reaching in their effects on rural life as the report of the Roosevelt Country Life Commission and the subsequent enactment of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes Acts establishing federal aid for extension work in agriculture and home economics and for vocational education in secondary schools.

6. *Collective Action.* The old individualism of farmers has been breaking down rapidly since the World War, as shown by the steady growth of farmers' co-operative associations; but the industrial depression convinced them that only through collective action could they obtain a parity with other industrial groups. Although they had been solidifying during the previous decade, as shown by the support of the McNary-Haugen Bill and the Federal Farm Board Act, the industrial depression brought them into a united front as never before and they became one of the chief pressure groups seeking national legislation, which culminated in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. This has had the support of both the leading farmers' organizations, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange; the former being the more radical and more influential, and the latter the more conservative and critical.

There is still, however, a widespread distrust of the permanent economic salvation of agriculture through federal legislation. The parallel between the evolution of the thinking of organized agriculture and of union labor is an interesting one, which has never been adequately investigated. The solution of labor problems through the economic strength of trade unionism has been one of the fundamental policies of the American Federation of Labor, and only recently, with the meteoric rise of the

C. I. O., has it been willing to support social security legislation, the National Labor Relations Board, and minimum wage and hours legislation. Farmers have had much the same attitudes and have long looked to the growth of co-operative associations as the means of obtaining economic bargaining power. In spite of overrapid and unwise organization of co-operatives in the early twenties and of the later unsuccessful attempt of the Federal Farm Board to subsidize regional and national co-operatives, they have shown a steady growth which does not seem, as yet, to have been retarded by the work of the A.A.A. Whether the policies of benefit payments inaugurated by the A.A.A. will result in building up a political movement which will demand the continuance of government benefits to agriculture, with all the consequences which that makes possible, it is too early to predict; but it seems highly probable. In any event, farmers are convinced that only through some sort of legislation which will support their collective action can they obtain their share of the national income.

7. *Regionalism.* The problems arising in the administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act have shown that there is a very distinct danger in dependence upon federal legislation and administration, with no co-ordinate and supporting state legislation which will make possible a decentralization of administration. In general, state departments of agriculture have been largely manned by political appointees and have never built up an expert civil service comparable to that of the federal department of agriculture or of the state agricultural colleges. This has resulted in the state administration of the A.A.A. being tied up with state and county committees which are the creatures of and associated with the state agricultural extension services—an opportunistic arrangement which has obvious advantages to meet the existing situation, but which may have serious consequences for the permanent efficiency of the extension service as an educational agency.

However this may be, the issues involved in the conflicting interests of different parts of the country soon demonstrated that this country is entirely too large for any uniform policies and that various regions must be dealt with according to their needs. Thus the administrative problems and the new surveys of land-use and of agricultural regions, have all been conducive to a study of regional differences and to bringing the states in different regions together for a common solution of their needs. The Eastern and Western Cotton belts, the Corn Belt, the northeastern area of dairying and general farming, the Spring Wheat and Winter

Wheat areas of the great plains, the range country, and the Pacific Coast have common interests, which not infrequently conflict with those of other regions. The agricultural situation has, therefore, lent support to the studies of the National Resources Committee and others of the importance of regional organization and has confirmed the prophetic insight of Frederick J. Turner⁹ as to the future rôle of regionalism in this country.

8. *Conclusion.* Such are some of the major problems of rural life which have been brought to an issue by the depression. In the main, they have been economic and political, but in them all there has been a searching reconsideration of the fundamental values of rural life, of the objectives of rural social organization, and an appreciation of the rôle which sociological analysis and interpretation may have in their solution which is encouraging to those of us who have been attempting to accumulate data and devise methods for this purpose.

⁹ *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 158-159.

The Characteristics and Mobility of Rural Physicians: A Study of Six Wisconsin Counties¹

Harold Maslow

ABSTRACT

The study was undertaken to test in a sample area certain indices of the distribution and mobility of rural physicians. In the area selected, during a 24-year period, while the population changed but little, the number of physicians in proportion to the population decreased by 23 per cent, resulting from a movement of 203 physicians into the area, 156 out, and 82 deaths or retirements. An average mobility rate of over 11 per cent a year was found. The mobility rate was greater in the older age groups and in the smaller communities. A considerable number of physicians were graduates of low-grade medical schools; the proportion of these, however, substantially decreased during the period. The trend from 1912 to 1936 was towards an older average age. Over half of the physicians moving into the area during this period were not recent graduates but came from other places of practice—about two-thirds coming from rural places (under 2,500 population) and only about one-third from cities. Of the recent graduates who moved into the area between 1912 and 1936, a higher percentage eventually moved away than remained.

These indices require further investigation.

INTRODUCTION

From the data on the physicians in the United States published by the American Medical Association in its Directory a number of studies¹ have been made of physicians in proportion to population and of their distribution in urban and rural districts.

The *Directory of Physicians* has been revised every second or third year since 1906. It gives the following information for each doctor:

- Name
- Age
- Name of medical school from which graduated
- Date of graduation
- Date of licensure
- Membership in medical societies, if any
- Specialty, if any
- Teaching position, if any
- Address

¹ See Bibliography.

The doctors are classified geographically by states and cities. In addition there is an alphabetical index of the doctors by their names, from which any change in status or address as listed in a prior Directory can be ascertained. The procedure in previous studies has been to take a cross-section of the sample at a given date or several such cross-sections at different dates. In one study, for example, the 1930 A. M. A. Directory was consulted, and the distribution of the doctors in North Dakota according to the size of place in which they were practicing was noted. Various items of the data given in the Directory concerning each physician have been correlated. However, it was felt that these previous studies had not fully utilized the rich offerings of the Directory.

Briefly, the findings of previous statistical studies of the distribution of physicians between country and city have shown:

1. There has been for many years a greater number of doctors (proportionate to population) in the cities than in the country.
2. The trend since 1906 has been towards an increase in this disproportion.
3. For the Nation as a whole, the ratio of doctors to population has been growing wider; this national lag has been greater in the rural than in the urban areas.
4. The rural doctor is on the average older than the urban doctor.
5. There are more specialists in the cities than in the country.

The present study was undertaken to explore the value of a more detailed method of analysis of the information in the Directory as applied to a sample rural area.² For this purpose, six counties in Wisconsin were selected. Every physician, name by name, was followed in all his movements as recorded by each Directory, during the period from 1912 to 1936. Thus, more intimate information was obtained regarding the physicians in these counties than had been collated, to the best knowledge of this writer, in any preceding study of rural physicians. In addition, a more extensive cross-correlating of the Directory data has been attempted.

THE SIX COUNTIES

The sample area comprised six Wisconsin counties: Polk, Pepin, Iowa, Grant, Pierce, and Lafayette. The population of the whole sample was 132,542 in 1910; 136,564 in 1920; and 132,217 in 1930. There are two cities in the area with a total population somewhat under 7,000; other-

² The general method employed in this study was suggested by Dr. Michael M. Davis, Chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, and the work was conducted under the auspices of this Committee. The author is individually responsible for the analysis and conclusions.

wise, the residents live in places with fewer than 2,500 population. The average per capita assessed valuation (equalized) for the sample is \$1,283, varying from \$892 in Polk to \$1,825 in Lafayette.

MEDICAL EDUCATION OF DOCTORS IN THE SAMPLE

At the turn of the century the A. M. A. set up a grading system for medical schools. Grade A schools were considered excellent; B, fair but needed improvements; C were those to be closed. After 1928 the schools were graded simply as approved or nonapproved.

In this study the grading system of 1910 was used⁸ for all doctors who had graduated before that date. Two assumptions are herein made: (1) Medical schools are evaluated as of the first grading (1910); it is assumed that if in 1910 a medical school was Grade A, the same status was maintained prior to that time. (2) Medical schools that had never been of Grade A and that had either been closed or merged with another school are considered Grade C. All doctors in the sample who had graduated after 1928 came from an approved school and were, therefore, all considered Grade A.

Proportionately, there has been an increase in Grade A graduates in the sample. Whereas in 1912, 57 per cent of the practitioners were Grade A graduates, in 1936 the proportion rose to 66 per cent. Almost all the substandard schools were closed down during the second decade of this century; hence the number of graduates from low-grade schools in recent years has been small. For this and possibly other reasons, the problem has lessened within recent years, but since a third of all of the physicians in 1936 practicing in these counties came from substandard schools, it is still a real one.

There is a definite tendency for the graduates of the poorer schools to settle in smaller places within the sample. For the complete period 1912-1936, of the 204 physicians practicing in communities under 1,000 in population, 44 per cent came from Grade B and C schools. Of a total of 60 physicians practicing in communities of 1,000 to 1,750, 38 per cent came from substandard schools.

AGE OF THE PHYSICIAN

From 1912 to 1936 a growing proportion of older men was found. The modal age group for 1912 was 36-40; in 1936 it had become 61-65. The median age group in 1912 was 40-45, and in 1936, 50-55. Whereas in 1912, 32 per cent of the physicians in the sample were over 50, in

⁸ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, June 18, 1910, p. 2064.

1936, 57 per cent comprised this group. The age distribution of physicians can readily be seen from the following:

<i>Age of M. D.'s</i>	<i>1912</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1929</i>	<i>1936</i>
<i>Percentage</i>				
Under 35.....	24	16	8	17
36-50.....	44	44	36	26
Over 50.....	32	40	56	57

THE MEDICAL RECRUITS

There was a total of 203 moves into the sample areas between 1912 and 1936. Of this number only 86 were recent graduates at the time of their arrival, and 117 had practiced elsewhere for varying lengths of time before moving into the sample. Recent graduates as herein used are those doctors whose names did not appear in the immediately preceding A. M. A. Directory. Should the definition of recent graduates be broadened so as to include those who had graduated less than five years before the given date, the mobility would very probably be reduced.

Analysis of the 117 doctors who were not recent graduates shows that 81 (70 per cent) had been practicing in rural towns before moving into the sample areas, and the remaining 36 (30 per cent) had come from urban places.

TABLE I
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEDICAL RECRUITS NOT RECENT GRADUATES
(1914-1936)

<i>Age Groups (years)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
20-30.....	13	11
31-40.....	46	40
41-50.....	25	21
51-60.....	21	18
61-70.....	7	6
Over 70.....	5	4
Total.....	117	100

The age distribution of the recruits who had been in practice before moving into the sample areas (their ages at the time of the move) shows that 28 per cent of them were over 50 years of age. The modal age group in this age-distribution-of-moves table is 31-40. There were actually 12 doctors (10 per cent) over 61 who moved into the sample areas.

It is of interest to trace the recent graduates who moved in. Of the 86,

56 per cent had moved away before 1936; 7 per cent had retired or died; and 37 per cent were still in the sample in 1936.

TABLE II
TREND IN TYPES OF MEDICAL RECRUITS

Class of M. D.'s	DIRECTORY OF YEAR							
	1914		1921		1929		1936	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Recent Graduates.....	11	46	5	21	6	30	11	69
Already in Practice.....	13	54	19	79	14	70	5	31
Totals.....	24	100	24	100	20	100	16	100

Table II shows the trend in recruitment, indicating that only for 1936 was there a larger proportion of new graduates than of physicians who had already been in active practice for some time. In previous years a larger proportion of the recruits came from practice in other cities or rural communities rather than as "recent graduates."

TABLE III
RECRUITS CLASSIFIED BY TYPE (1913-1936)

	Number	Percent
Recent Graduates.....	86	42
Moved from other place.....	117	58
Total.....	203	100
Moved from rural place.....	81	70
Moved from urban place.....	36	30
Subtotal.....	117	100

The 1936 recruitment picture, with its sudden increase in the proportion of recent graduates, falls in line with some evidence of such a new trend in the 1937 A. M. A. study "Rural Medical Service" based on the 1936 A. M. A. Directory. The study has too limited a statistical base (only those counties were used in which the ratio of population to doctors was higher than 2,000 to 1) to make it reliable, any more than is the present study with its small sample. Later A. M. A. Directories can be consulted on this point if the more direct method of sending schedules to recent graduates of medical schools cannot be utilized.

DOCTORS' MOVES OUT OF THE AREA

An undue proportion of these outward moves were from places under 1,000. Our table points to these towns as the critical area in the problem of physician supply in rural areas.

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF MOVES OUT OF THE SAMPLE AREAS (1921-1936)

Age Groups (years)	Moves Out		Normal Distribution	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
20-30.....	20	13	37	7
31-40.....	50	32	129	26
41-50.....	28	18	123	24
51-60.....	35	23	108	22
61-70.....	15	9	9	15
Over 70.....	8	5	9	6
Totals.....	156	100	505	100

NOTE: The normal distribution is based on an averaging of the 1912, 1921, 1929, and 1936 A. M. A. Directories.

Quite surprising was the revelation that 37 per cent of the moves out were by physicians 51 years of age or over; 14 per cent of the moves out were actually made by doctors over 60.

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF MOVES OUT OF SAMPLE AREAS BY SIZE OF TOWN
FROM WHICH MOVED (1912-1936)

Size of Place	Moves Out		Normal Distribution	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 1000.....	110	70	204	60
1000 to 1750.....	27	17	60	18
1750 to 2500.....	6	5	43	13
2500—over.....	13	8	30	9
Totals.....	156	100	337	100

Some 60 per cent of these doctors moved into other rural districts on leaving the sample areas. This percentage may be compared with the parallel figure (69 per cent) of the medical recruits (excluding recent graduates) who came from other rural places.

The hypothesis is suggested that there is a "rural type" of practitioner who has difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory rural practice, and who

TABLE VI

DOCTORS' MOVES OUT OF THE SAMPLE AREAS CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF TOWN
TO WHICH THEY MOVED (1912-1936)

	<i>To Rural Place</i>		<i>To Urban Place</i>		<i>Totals</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Moved from						
Rural Place.....	86	60	57	40	143	100
Urban Place.....	6	46	7	54	13	100
Totals.....	92	59	64	41	156	100

tries his luck again in another rural area instead of moving to a larger place. This "rural type" would account for 40 per cent of all the newcomers in our sample areas.

This significant category of physicians moving out of the sample areas needs a more elaborate analysis than was attempted in this study. Of the Directory data the most significant items for the analysis of those who moved out seemed to be age and place of practice, which were incorporated here. A more effective way of discovering why these doctors moved out would be to use personal questionnaires.

MOBILITY

The movement of physicians in and out of a given area is to be distinguished from the trend in the supply of physicians within the area. The trend in supply is a result of this mobility, plus the dropping out of physicians by reason of death or retirement. The mobility factor becomes

TABLE VII

AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF MOBILITY
(EXCLUDING M.D.'S WHO DROPPED OUT BECAUSE OF DEATH OR RETIREMENT)*

<i>Items</i>	<i>1913-1921</i>	<i>1922-1929</i>	<i>1930-1936</i>
I. Total number of moves in whole period.....	163	107	89
II. Average annual number of moves during period†.....	18.1	13.3	12.7
III. Average annual number of M. D.'s in sample.....	145	132	117
IV. Percentage.....	12	10	11

*Mobility rates refer to the number of actual moves in and out of the sample areas in proportion to the number of physicians in the sample areas at a given time.

†The various figures for Item II are obtained by dividing Item I by the number of years in each period of time. Item III is obtained by averaging the total M.D.'s at each end of the period (1913 has 148 M.D.'s, 1921 has 142; therefore the average for 1913-1921 period is 145). Item IV is the ratio between Items II and III.

important for the proper comprehension of the trend. In rural medical economics, moreover, it has some independent significance.

A measure of mobility is the number of *moves* by doctors into and out of the sample, divided by the number of physicians present in the whole sample during the time in question. For certain purposes it might be necessary to measure all *changes* whether they are due to a change of location or to death or retirement. This latter figure may be called the turnover rate as distinguished from the mobility rate. The average *annual* mobility rate for the period 1913-1921 was found to be 12 per cent; for the period 1922-1929, 10 per cent; and for the period 1930-1936, 11 per cent. The *annual* turnover rates were 15 per cent, 13 per cent, and 14 per cent respectively.

TABLE VIII

AVERAGE ANNUAL TURNOVER RATE* (INCLUDING THE DROPPED OUT M.D.'S
WITH THE DOCTORS WHO MOVED IN AND OUT OF THE SAMPLE AREAS)

Items	1913-1921	1922-1929	1930-1936
I. Total number of changes in whole period.....	190	137	114
II. Average annual number of changes during period†.....	21.1	17.2	16.4
III. Average annual number of M. D.'s in sample areas.....	145	132	117
IV. Percentage.....	15	13	14

*Turnover rates refer to the number of changes in doctors' locations (irrespective of whether they are willed or caused by death or retirement due to old age or infirmities) in proportion to the total number of physicians in the sample areas at the time in question.

†See footnote Table VII.

These figures do not represent the exact mobility and turnover because moves between the biennial and triennial editions of the Directory are not recorded, and at best they give a conservative picture of the situation.

No trend towards a decrease or increase of the mobility and the turnover rates is discernible for the period 1913 to 1936.

When turnover and mobility were computed by the grade of medical school of the moving doctors, no important difference appeared in the rates for Grade A, B, and C schools.

Mobility seems to vary with the size of town, being larger for the smaller places.

Mobility seems to be greater in the ages under 40, but is surprisingly high even in the ages over 50.

Heretofore it has been generally assumed that a continuous personal relationship exists between rural doctors and patients. Because of sup-

TABLE IX
MOBILITY IN RELATION TO SIZE OF TOWN (1912-1936)

Size of Place	Normal Distribution		Moves Into Sample		Moves Out of Sample	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 1000.....	204	60	129	64	110	71
1000 to 1750.....	60	18	41	20	27	17
1750 to 2500.....	43	13	18	9	6	4
2500—over.....	30	9	15	7	13	8
Total.....	337	100	203	100	156	100

TABLE IX—Continued.

Size of Place	Dropped Out of Sample		Total Moves		Total Changes	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 1000.....	42	52	239	67	281	63
1000 to 1750.....	17	21	68	19	85	19
1750 to 2500.....	16	20	24	7	40	9
0—over.....	7	7	28	7	35	9
Total.....	82	100	359	100	441	100

posedly extended contacts with his patients, the rural doctor is classically pictured as a kindly healer having intimate knowledge of the lives of his patients. This is a real force towards producing a strong doctor-patient relationship; but an excessive flux in the professional group, such as is shown in this study, would weaken or entirely cancel this beneficial effect. The little town of Potosi in Grant County will serve as an illustration, even if it be not representative. From 1912 to 1936 seven different doctors came and went. Potosi obviously was no more fertile a soil for the growth of good doctor-patient relationship than would be a large city.

Mobility is important enough to change the present emphasis of rural medical planners from the question, "How can we attract new medical graduates to rural areas?" to the question, "How can we retain our rural doctors in their communities?"

Mobility investigations can perhaps shed some light on a paramount issue of rural planning, i.e., what is the proper size of a community for the maintenance of medical service? As Brunner and Lorge point out, the absence of knowledge on this point has held up practical solutions because a trial and error method is usually not appealing.⁴

⁴ Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York, 1937), p. 368.

The hypothesis elsewhere suggested, that there is a "rural type" of practitioner who moves about from one rural place to another, should be investigated in any consideration of mobility in rural practice. Such men accounted for as much as 40 per cent of the recruits in our sample.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Further investigation into the field of mobility of physicians may be fruitfully undertaken. Of several studies, one could be made of the distribution of physicians from 1906 to 1936, making use of all available items. These should be correlated on a countrywide sample.

Possibly a part of a large sample could be worked up by the horizontal cross-section method, using each Directory from 1906 to 1936, to obtain information on mobility.

Mr. Earl S. Johnson, in his study of the distribution of physicians in Chicago,⁵ suggests a method of research correlating the distribution of physicians with the economic resources of various areas. A state-wide study could be developed along these lines.

More intensive studies, based along the lines of this investigation, might be undertaken in various localities. The Directory data should be supplemented by information gleaned by personal questionnaires.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. The total of 147 doctors in the six counties listed in the sample for 1912 dropped to 114 by 1936, whereas the population remained substantially the same (about 132,000).
2. The total decrease of 35 physicians was accomplished by a movement of 441 physicians in the 24-year period. Two hundred and three moved into the area, 156 moved out, 82 died or retired.
3. The stability of these rural physicians is low. An average mobility rate of over 11 per cent a year was found. The continuity of doctor-patient relationships in these counties is much less than has been generally attributed to rural areas.
4. Greater mobility was found in the older age groups and in the smaller communities, particularly in those with a population under 1,000.
5. In 1936 a sizable portion of the doctors were graduates of low-grade medical schools. The proportion was larger in earlier years.
6. The trend from 1912 to 1936 was towards an older average age.

⁵ Earl S. Johnson, *A Study in the Ecology of the Physician* (a dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty in candidacy for the degree of Master of Arts, Department of Sociology, The University of Chicago; unpublished), Chicago, 1932.

7. A large portion (58 per cent) of the medical recruits were not recent graduates but had moved into the sample areas from other places of practice.
8. About two-thirds of these medical recruits who were not recent graduates had come from other rural places, whereas only about one-third had moved in from cities (up to 2,500 population is classed as "rural").
9. No significant tendency of these rural doctors to move to the cities could be found.
10. Of the recent graduates who moved into the area between 1912 and 1936, a higher percentage eventually moved away than remained.
11. A number of other indices investigated gave negative results.

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Rural Housing Problem in the South¹

S. H. Hobbs, Jr.*

ABSTRACT

The rural housing problem in the South is one of long standing. Chief factors responsible for this problem are climate, farm income, high Negro ratios, farm tenancy, and small farms.

The rural housing problem has received scanty attention, at home and abroad. Main sources of information are 1930 *Census of Agriculture*, 1934 Survey of Rural Housing, and a few local studies. There is a vast amount of literature on urban housing and many countries are spending vast sums to remedy urban housing problems.

Much pessimism exists as to possibilities of remedying rural housing conditions, especially for low income farm groups. The main suggestions are to subsidize housing for low income groups, extend F.H.A. into rural fields, carry on work begun by Resettlement Administration, expand the program of the Farm Security Administration, and encourage self-help among farmers themselves through educational programs and otherwise.

An outstanding accomplishment abroad has been the erection of some 60,000 cottages for Irish farm laborers. Their plan, modified, could be employed as a partial solution to our rural housing problem.

We have all heard reiterated many times the statement that one-third of the population of the nation is ill-clothed, ill-fed, and ill-housed. The ratio for the rural South must then be much higher than one-third, since by all standards of measurement the farm people of the South who comprise one-half of all the farm people of the United States are the worst housed, and perhaps also the worst clothed and worst fed, of any large-sized group of people in the United States. The situation is not new to the South. Dr. Youngblood in a letter on this subject to the writer pointed out that Olmsted, who visited the South before the Civil War, described some very low planes of living from Virginia to Texas. A few people in the South at that time were well housed, and a modest percentage of farm families in the South today enjoy adequate housing, but the vast majority of Southern farm people are not adequately housed, and a considerable percentage live in filthy hovels unfit for human habitation. Let us assume for the time that there is a rural housing problem in the South. This will be verified statistically later on.

I have been impressed with the scarcity of literature on farm housing

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¹ Presented before the Southern Sociological Society, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1, 1938.

not only in the South but in all of the United States. Interest in improved housing generally has developed only during the last few years, and interest in farm housing remains mainly academic at the present time. Very little has been done to remedy farm housing conditions, although vast sums have been provided as a national undertaking to improve urban housing.

The situation in the United States is somewhat parallel to that in Europe. A large number of European countries have been engaged in improving urban housing for a number of years. Hundreds of thousands of urban houses have been provided in Europe and there is a vast amount of literature on this subject in various European countries. However, in this literature there is scarcely a reference to farm housing. The countries that have engaged extensively in improved urban housing programs are Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Italy, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Poland, and Germany. Activities in these countries have been briefed in various reports from the International Labor Office and in other publications. It is true that many European countries have promoted farm ownership and, of course, improved farm housing has resulted from these extensive efforts to convert tenants into owners. However, there has been very little attack on the farm housing problem as a separate proposition. Perhaps the most thorough single job has been in connection with improved housing for Irish farm laborers which will be referred to later on.

FACTORS IN FARM HOUSING IN THE SOUTH

It will be well to recall a few of the main factors responsible for the generally poor condition of farm housing in the South. One important, but ameliorative, factor is the relatively mild climate which makes it possible for people to be moderately comfortable in houses less substantial and with fewer comforts and conveniences than would be tolerable in areas of the United States where the climate is more rigorous.

Another important factor is farm income. Various rules have been laid down as to the ratio that should exist between income and housing expenditure. It appears from the available data that Southern farmers spend relatively as much of their income on dwellings as do the farmers of other regions of the United States. The difficulty in the South is that the per-farm income is too low to enable farmers to be housed comfortably. One correspondent has suggested that farmers of the South be resigned to their uncomfortable dwellings for the simple reason that they

cannot afford much better than they now possess. Another writer suggests that the farm dwellings of the South are largely the result of habit, and that actually farm families can afford more comfortable dwellings, especially if they will show personal initiative in utilizing their spare time and available resources to improve their housing conditions.

Another important factor, and one frequently considered the most important, is farm tenancy. More than half of all Southern farmers are full tenants. Poor housing has been associated with tenancy from time immemorial and the situation will probably continue to exist indefinitely. It is too much to expect that tenants will be supplied with dwellings beyond the quality that takes care of the minimum requirement of protection from the elements and space for the family. The gulf that exists between the quality of farm dwellings occupied by owners and tenants is wider in the South than elsewhere in the United States. Indeed it is generally difficult to distinguish between owner dwellings and tenant dwellings in many of the Northern and Western states. In the South one can be fairly certain as to which house is occupied by the landowner and which is occupied by the tenant.

Another major factor in farm housing is the large Negro element in the agricultural South. It is probably true that Negro tenants are even more poorly housed than white tenants and certainly Negro landowners of small farms are more poorly housed than white landowners.

Associated with tenancy in the South is the cropping system which makes it possible for the tenants to move as frequently as they desire. Approximately 40 per cent of all tenants in the South move every year. Obviously the cropper nomad will make no effort to improve the house in which he dwells only temporarily. It is more likely that he will leave a dwelling in worse shape than he finds it. One is optimistic indeed to expect much improvement in housing for these wanderers.

And finally, the value of farm dwellings is closely associated with the size of the farm, especially improved land per farm, which is a main factor in farm income. However, there are exceptions, as in New England where farms are fairly small but farm dwellings rank at or near the top in the United States.

FACTS ABOUT RURAL HOUSING IN THE SOUTH

The main sources of data on farm housing are the 1930 *Census of Agriculture*, which carried data on value of farm dwellings and certain facts about home comforts and conveniences; the *Farm and Village*

Housing Report, Volume VII of the President's (Hoover) Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership; and the 1934 Survey of Rural Housing in the United States, made under the supervision of the United States Department of Agriculture, which covered 43 states and more than 622,000 farm dwellings.

The most recent general data on the value of farm dwellings appear in the 1930 *Census of Agriculture*. Such data are not reported in the 1935 *Census of Agriculture*, nor in the 1934 Survey of Rural Housing. The 1930 *Census of Agriculture* shows that the Southern states fall in almost a solid group at the bottom in the value of farm dwellings. The range for this solid group is from Florida with \$807 per dwelling, to Mississippi with \$377 per dwelling. Virginia is the only Southern state which does not fall in this group, her rank being twenty-third with a value slightly higher than the national average of \$1,126. New Mexico is the only non-Southern state to fall in this group. Five Southern states have farm dwellings averaging less than \$500 in value. As a matter of fact, approximately one-half of all farm dwellings in the South in 1930 were valued at less than \$500. The price level in 1930 was higher than it is today, which means that the value of farm dwellings today would be less than that reported in the 1930 Census. The low value of farm dwellings in the South, to repeat, is associated with the size of farms, low farm income, and especially farm tenancy and Negro population. All studies dealing with this matter emphasize these points. A study of sample counties in Texas, South Carolina, and Arkansas in 1930 shows that the average value of dwellings occupied by owners was \$975 and the average value occupied by tenants was \$352. The average for Texas in both instances is considerably above the average for the South generally. Hundreds of thousands of tenant houses in the South have a value of less than \$300 each, and a large percentage below \$200 each in value.

While the value of the dwellings is the main measure of housing conditions, it is not the only factor. The 1930 *Census of Agriculture* and the 1934 Farm Housing Survey contain many data dealing with farm home comforts and conveniences. A summary of the data based on the 1934 Survey appears at the end of this paper.

The 1930 Census showed that the ratio of farm dwellings having electric lights was 3.0 per cent in the East South Central states, 3.6 per cent in the West South Central states, and 6.1 per cent in the South Atlantic states. For the other divisions of the United States the percent-

ages ranged from 13.2 in the West North Central states to 59.9 in the Pacific states.

Roughly 5 per cent of all farm dwellings in the three Southern divisions had piped water in the dwellings. For the other divisions the range was from 16.2 per cent in the West North Central states to 63.9 per cent in the New England states.

Approximately 3.5 per cent of farm dwellings in the three Southern divisions had bathrooms, while the ratios for the other divisions ranged from 8.5 per cent in the West North Central states to 43.2 per cent in the Pacific Coast states. Roughly 10 per cent of farms in the South had telephones and approximately 50 per cent of all farms in the United States outside of the South had telephones.

A recent study on this subject by Dorothy Dickins² contains many interesting data. One item states that there were no toilet facilities on 50 per cent of all farms surveyed, white and black, rich and poor. Three-fifths of the white families on poor soil had no toilet facilities and approximately three-fourths of the Negro families on poor land had no toilet facilities. One-fifth of the white families on good land and one-half of Negro families on good land had no toilet facilities. Three-fourths of all farm homes surveyed had no screens whatsoever.

"A Report on Rural Housing in Louisiana," by Ellen LeNoir and Lynn Smith,³ based on the 1934 Survey of Farm Housing, and covering 16,403 dwellings in Louisiana, shows that nearly one-fifth of all farm homes surveyed had no toilet facilities. It seems to be the custom in Louisiana for two or more families, usually tenants, to share toilet facilities.

A study by Dr. Rupert Vance, entitled "How the Other Half Lives," *Southern Policy Papers No. IV*, is valuable both for its brief, pointed comments and its excellent photographs. Dr. Vance stresses the general ignorance of people about farm housing conditions; the facts which prove the Cotton Belt to have the worst farm housing in the United States, and the contribution of tenancy to the bad housing situation. The following is a quotation from this report:

The dwellings of many small owners in the South fall below minimum standards, but in the large, the rural housing problem is a phase of the South's tenant problem. Farm tenant houses are essentially laborers' cottages, the construction and upkeep of which are entirely in the hands of the landlords. Along with firewood, housing is one of the perquisites furnished the tenant and his family while

² "Family Living on Poor and Better Soils," Mississippi Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 320*, 1937.

³ Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 290*, August, 1937.

they make a crop. The best tenant houses are likely to be unpainted clapboarded cottages of four rooms, ceiled inside and papered with old newspapers. With no shade around the house, the yard may be a hot sandy little plot of ground with a dug well, usually open and unprotected. Often the house is unscreened and open to the flies, gnats, and mosquitoes.

In a pioneer study, E. C. Branson spoke of the farm tenant as being able to study astronomy through the roof and geology through the floor of his shack. In the worst houses the croppers and share tenants are likely to live in two-room cabins, hot in the summer and almost impossible to heat in the winter. Daylight may show between cracks, and the cabin may leak in stormy weather and leave the floor damp for several days after. One investigation showed tenants had little concern as to whether their houses were painted; they worried as to whether the roof might leak or cracks in the wall let in winter winds. Heating is usually supplied by a wood-burning stove in the kitchen, supplemented by a fireplace in the bedroom.

CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS

We now come to a consideration of what can be done to improve the farm housing situation in the South. Most of the people with whom I have talked on this subject have been extremely pessimistic with regard to constructive action. The main suggestion has been to get the Federal Housing Act enlarged or expanded to include farm housing. However, the Chairman of the Federal Housing Administration in a recent article in *Current History* pays only scant attention to the problem of housing rural groups, dismissing the topic as being beyond the scope of the Federal Housing Act, and he intimates that it is largely beyond the realm of possibility. He says, "The strictly rural group which cannot pay an 'economic' rent—'dust bowl' farmers, sharecroppers, etc.—present the most difficult of all housing problems. Only the rim of this problem has been touched."

He further states that the problem of housing families with incomes of as little as \$1,500 is largely a matter of improving the technique of production and distribution while the problem of housing families whose income is less than \$1,500 is beyond the scope of the work contemplated in the United States Housing Authority Act. Obviously this eliminates a vast majority of Southern farmers, especially those who need better housing. A further quotation from Mr. Straus is pertinent:

When we discuss housing for really low-income groups, the shift is necessary from emphasis upon reducing costs to a dual emphasis upon reducing costs and raising incomes. No foreseeable improvement in techniques, for example, will bring decent new housing to the family with an income of less than \$1,000 per year.

He suggests that the Government might subsidize housing for low-income groups and cites as precedent for such action the subsidies granted in various European countries.

Among the agencies which the Federal Government has established to improve housing is the Federal Home Loan Bank Board with assets of considerably more than three billions of dollars. Through its Federal Home Loan Bank System it provides the same services to savings and loan associations, savings banks, and insurance companies as the Federal Reserve System does for commercial banks. The facilities provided by this Board have been widely used to provide housing for those who are able to own their own homes. Second, and more widely publicized, is the Federal Housing Administration, whose principal function is to insure mortgages. This agency has already exerted a profound influence on building practice in this country. A recent act has authorized the Federal Housing Administration to insure mortgages held by private lending agencies for advancing capital for construction and home purchases not exceeding two billion dollars but the President may add an additional one billion dollars if necessary. This legislation provides for a down payment of only 10 per cent on appraised value of home construction projects up to \$6,000. The government would insure 90 per cent of the mortgage up to \$6,000, and 80 per cent thereafter. The mortgages are to be amortized over a period of from 20 to 25 years.

The amended F.H.A. extends the activities of that organization into rural and semi-rural mortgage guarantees, making Federal credit available on favorable terms. Whether or not private agencies will take advantage of these financial arrangements to build farm dwellings remains to be seen. It may be that the plan will have to be materially liberalized in terms of lower interest rates and better adjusted to the peculiar needs of farmers. There is no valid reason why farm homes cannot be built under this plan.

The Resettlement Administration while it lasted was interested in improving housing for farm people especially those with low income. The March (1938) issue of the *Annals* contains an article by Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick dealing with the Housing Aspects of Resettlement. He brings out the point that the Resettlement Administration was interested not only in helping people to move from land which is too poor to yield them the essentials of a minimum living, but it was also interested in locating these people in properly planned and well-constructed dwellings. He reports 86 projects carried on by the Resettlement Administra-

tion for the relocation of approximately 10,000 rural families. More than 6,000 of these dwellings had been built or were under construction a year ago. These houses of modest size and convenient layout are planned to meet adequately the needs of the farm family in the varying conditions over the country. The occupants of these rural resettlement homes are paying for them on a long-term, 40-year basis at 3 per cent interest. Some of the houses are grouped according to the community plan to make possible the provision of various services and co-operative facilities, as in the Dyess Colony, Arkansas, and Penderlea Homesteads, North Carolina. Others are on separate farms apart from each other in districts or communities already settled, usually on tracts of good land which have lacked full development from the owners who live there or are ready to retire elsewhere. Less spectacular, but perhaps of more value, were the loans made to farmers which enabled them to make improvements in the dwellings which they occupy.

The Resettlement Administration was absorbed by the Farm Security Administration which will complete the programs inherited and initiated by the Resettlement Administration. In a recent letter Captain R. B. Lord states that

The most constructive suggestion that can be offered in the light of the experience of the Farm Security Administration in providing rural housing accommodations, is that those provided be within the means of the rural individual who is to be served.

To be within the means of the average southern rural citizen at present, housing accommodations must be extremely cheap. Therefore, the problem resolves itself into two phases which are: first, the design of housing facilities at the absolute minimum in cost; and second, the increase of the buying power of the southern rural citizen. These two phases of the general problem are closely interlocked in that the income level in southern rural communities is in general below that which will permit the minimum expenditure for housing which will amortize the lowest cost house which has so far been built.

With this in mind, the construction forces of the Farm Security Administration imposed upon themselves the responsibility to provide the lowest cost housing units possible.

The first move was to cut out the bathroom; the second, to eliminate running water except where it could be provided at very little expense; and the third, to provide no part of a housing unit which was not an absolute essential.

In the course of events, technicians of the Farm Security Administration developed a steel house entirely based on the above general philosophy and the above general principles. It is hoped that private manufacturing enterprises will go further with this in the future, because this particular design is extremely well

adapted to assembly in rural areas where the construction skills are very much lacking.

The experienced construction organization which has been built up and which has solved most of the problems with regard to actual production of low-cost housing is to be liquidated by June 30, 1938. Thereafter there will remain the Farm Tenant Bill provisions which make available federal money to be loaned to farmers to buy farms and make such improvements as are needed. Incidentally if a dent is to be made on the tenant problem the funds provided will have to be multiplied many times over. Whoever originated the expression about the mountain being in labor to produce a mouse anticipated the Farm Security Act, especially that part of it designed to make owners out of tenants.

Since the major farm-housing problem in the South is in connection with the dwellings occupied by tenants we are faced with the problem of what can be done to improve housing for tenant farmers. One can simply suggest that the Federal Government subsidize housing for this great mass of humanity. It might not be stupid to suggest that the Government go so far as to advance funds to landlords to be used to build and renovate farm dwellings to be repaid without interest. Or even further to suggest that, in addition to this, improvements made by landlords be exempted from local taxation for a period of years. It seems to me that a liberal program headed by the Federal Government could do much to put people to work on constructive activities and at the end of such a program we might have a few hundred thousand livable cottages in the South to show for our expenditure. Such a program would create employment and vastly stimulate the sale of building materials. If we really want to stimulate business, this seems to be a sound proposition. It certainly is not out of line with what has been done in several European countries, notably in Ireland, where farm cottages have been built by state subsidy and further subsidized through local property taxation.

I think it pertinent to summarize briefly the Irish accomplishment. These people have at least demonstrated that poor farm housing can be remedied, if there's a will to do it. During the period from 1883 to 1935, Irish local councils have erected nearly 60,000 cottages for rural laborers and have also purchased other cottages and put them in repair. In addition to these, other cottages have been constructed or repaired by landlords, tenants, tenant purchasers, and the public utility societies with or without public grants. Efforts have been made to do away with dilapidated and unsanitary dwellings and a good council cottage system is

TABLE I
RESULTS FARM HOUSING SURVEY, SPRING 1934
STUDY COVERS 622,413 FARM HOUSES, 43 STATES
(Advanced data supplied by U. S. D. A.)

STATE	Total Number Houses Studied	Under 10 Yrs.	Over 50 Yrs.	Pre-1900 Frame	One Story	Average Number Rooms	Average Number Occupants per Room	Water Supply in House	Bath Tub	Kitchen Sink with Drain	Electricity	Central Heat	Refrigeration	Stoves (excl. Wood or Coal)	Power Washing Machine
Alabama.....	21,438	19	10	% Frame	%										
Arizona.....	840	56	2	94	90	4	1.26	3	1	3	3	.09	10	2	.13
California.....	14,177	23	8	97	97	3	1.27	41	15	31	16	.24	64	26	16.
Colorado.....	9,664	15	2	93	80	5	.72	91	68	87	88	4.	48	62	48.
Connecticut.....	1,724	9	71	97	11	9	.95	29	12	28	17	5.	21	38	26.
Delaware.....	2,000	8	33	99	4	7	.54	77	33	95	49	34.	67	45	23.
Florida.....	13,058	39	4	94	86	5	.90	44	9	58	19	5.	50	48	15.
Georgia.....	33,139	10	14	97	93	4	1.18	6	2	3	3	.09	19	4	.09
Idaho.....	4,458	16	3	91	61	5	.93	32	17	36	34	4.	32	22	46.
Illinois.....	21,318	7	38	94	28	7	.66	50	16	51	20	26.	30	50	44.
Indiana.....	15,755	7	35	91	22	7	.61	52	14	49	24	18.	22	58	36.
Iowa.....	18,763	6	29	96	11	7	.63	56	19	54	27	29.	18	52	64.
Kansas.....	17,929	11	17	94	41	6	.70	36	18	42	18	11.	42	65	39.
Kentucky.....	22,314	13	26	87	50	5	.91	11	16	11	9	3.	30	20	7.
Louisiana.....	16,402	23	12	98	97	4	1.18	7	4	4	5	.06	12	11	.19
Maine.....	2,769	3	79	98	5	8	.49	77	17	98	57	21.	61	16	29.
Maryland.....	7,547	7	50	85	3	8	.53	36	16	33	27	13.	44	46	24.
Massachusetts.....	2,062	6	73	97	4	10	.46	95	44	97	71	43.	74	40	45.
Michigan.....	17,025	10	35	89	15	7	.57	61	14	66	31	29.	21	51	35.
Minnesota.....	17,310	13	14	88	14	6	.80	45	7	39	14	20.	16	37	45.
Missouri.....	28,136	16	17	91	51	5	.85	18	8	19	15	7.	31	43	14.
Montana.....	4,053	17	4	84	56	5	.87	31	13	32	20	6.	27	12	

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

STATE	Total Number Houses Studied	Under 10 Yrs.	Over 50 Yrs.	Pre-penetrating Type Frame	One Story	Average Number Rooms	Average Number Occupants per Room	Water Supply in House	Bath Tub	Kitchen Sink with Drains	Electricity	Central Heat	Refrigeration	Stoves (excl. Wood or Coal)	Powder Washing Machine
	%	%	%	% Frame	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nebraska.....	14,915	11	12	96	38	6	.72	51	20	49	21	16.	27	46	56.
Nevada.....	1,047	21	9	87	82	5	.78	57	36	63	70	4.	39	18	30.
New Hampshire.....	2,027	5	77	99	9	9	.48	93	26	97	56	24.	66	15	25.
New Jersey.....	2,033	9	66	87	6	9	.51	85	42	70	69	52.	79	74	26.
New Mexico.....	2,746	22	8	57	90	4	1.31	19	10	16	16	1.	26	14.	
North Carolina.....	28,199	17	19	95	70	5	1.06	23	3	11	10	.39	21	8	2.
North Dakota.....	7,708	8	4	95	25	6	.89	35	6	24	11	22.	10	49	41.
Ohio.....	18,464	5	47	89	10	7	.63	47	10	50	23	17.	16	46	37.
Oklahoma.....	13,078	18	1	94	83	4	1.07	11	6	13	5	1.	24	42	17.
Oregon.....	5,677	34	5	98	52	5	.71	57	33	61	54	6.	17	15	43.
Rhode Island.....	2,030	12	63	99	8	9	.50	78	42	98	80	40.	85	45	30.
South Carolina.....	15,505	13	13	97	91	5	1.13	13	3	3	4	.08	15	3	.11
South Dakota.....	11,623	19	12	96	25	6	.75	50	12	37	18	22.	20	54	50.
Tennessee.....	28,085	16	20	89	69	4	1.09	8	3	6	6	.59	21	6	1.
Texas.....	46,601	25	6	97	90	4	1.06	24	12	16	9	.15	42	33	7.
Utah.....	6,022	12	11	55	68	5	.99	61	35	50	92	8.	21	16	63.
Vermont.....	2,216	4	79	91	2	9	.52	85	29	91	48	23.	52	25	48.
Virginia.....	22,974	13	27	81	18	6	.92	17	8	14	13	2.	32	12	7.
Washington.....	7,902	24	2	97	46	6	.72	61	34	63	60	8.	20	18	51.
West Virginia.....	9,425	18	22	88	34	6	.88	23	7	29	17	4.	12	15	21.
Wyoming.....	2,395	25	2	76	75	5	.96	25	9	26	13	5.	17	48	32.
United States.....	622,413	15.6	18.6	93.0	57.0	5.8	.8	44.0	11.5	27.2	30.0	12.0	33.5	28.7	20.6

enforced. All this has made a great change in the aspect of the rural districts of Ireland. Laborers' cottages are no longer a disgrace to that country. The following is a summary of this highly commendable program as presented by Miss E. R. Hooker of the United States Department of Agriculture in a manuscript to be published by the University of North Carolina Press:

1. The responsibility for erecting and maintaining the cottages rested not on individuals but on public authorities of two kinds: (*a*) the local councils under the supervision of, (*b*) the local government for Ireland.
2. The actual work of construction and repair was done by contractors who worked under the supervision of professionally trained men employed by the councils.
3. The operations were comprehensive, being carried on in every rural district in Ireland.
4. The cottages provided were durable and adequate but not expensive, the average cost being \$828 before the World War and about \$1,950 since the World War.
5. In financing the operations, the low rents beyond the means of the laborers were supplemented partly by the local taxes, partly by parliamentary grants raised partly through taxation, and partly from the income from certain Irish funds allocated to the purpose.
6. In Northern Ireland to the present day and in the Free State until 1936 the cottages provided have remained under the management of the local councils who kept them insured and repaired.

I am not certain that the plans employed in Ireland can be applied in the United States. We do not have a farm labor population similar to theirs, but Southern tenants are little more than laborers paid in kind.

Ireland has also converted practically her entire farm tenant population into farm owners with adequate housing in connection with these owned farms and she has provided suitable housing for practically the entire farm labor population. Approximately one billion dollars has been spent on her land settlement program.

It seems to me that if Ireland can solve her tenant and housing problem, the South ought to be able to solve its somewhat similar problems. In discussing this point, and in comparing Ireland with the United States, Miss Hooker has the following to say:

(*a*) *Location of Cottages.* Much the larger part of the present housing activities of the United States is urban or suburban. Both the Federal Housing Administration and the Housing Division of the Public Works

TABLE II
FARM HOME COMFORTS AND CONVENIENCES, 1930

The parallel columns give the per cent of farm homes having running water, the per cent having electric lights, and the per cent that buy their electric light and power.

Rank	STATES	<i>Per cent Having Telephones</i>	<i>Percent Having Piped Water</i>	<i>Per cent Having Electric Lights</i>	<i>Per cent Buying Electric Lights and Power</i>
1	Iowa.....	84.2	24.0	21.4	11.7
2	Kansas.....	72.8	16.9	12.5	6.2
3	Nebraska.....	72.5	29.6	16.5	5.8
4	Illinois.....	68.8	19.4	16.0	8.5
5	Connecticut.....	66.1	62.3	52.7	44.6
6	Massachusetts.....	64.8	74.5	62.6	54.0
7	New Hampshire.....	62.5	73.8	41.3	33.6
8	Minnesota.....	61.9	12.5	12.6	6.7
9	Indiana.....	60.8	19.5	16.7	10.2
10	Vermont.....	60.6	72.3	30.4	25.7
11	Wisconsin.....	59.1	15.7	25.6	16.6
12	Maine.....	56.9	49.0	33.1	28.0
13	Ohio.....	55.3	29.2	25.9	17.2
14	Missouri.....	53.8	8.3	7.9	4.9
15	South Dakota.....	53.6	14.5	10.9	3.0
16	Rhode Island.....	52.4	56.8	57.5	50.3
17	New York.....	48.9	37.1	34.4	27.1
18	Oregon.....	48.2	44.0	33.4	27.2
19	Washington.....	44.8	48.6	48.0	41.0
20	Michigan.....	43.5	24.1	20.5	14.3
21	Pennsylvania.....	42.5	37.2	26.5	19.3
22	Nevada.....	42.4	35.3	33.1	23.5
23	New Jersey.....	40.9	48.7	53.0	43.2
23	North Dakota.....	40.9	7.5	7.9	2.2
25	Colorado.....	39.8	20.5	15.7	10.9
26	Idaho.....	37.8	23.9	30.7	25.7
27	California.....	35.5	72.0	63.3	58.1
28	West Virginia.....	34.0	11.7	6.4	3.4
29	Wyoming.....	28.0	12.5	7.2	2.8
30	Maryland.....	27.6	24.0	21.2	14.4
31	Utah.....	27.3	38.9	58.1	53.2
32	Oklahoma.....	26.1	5.3	4.0	1.9
33	Kentucky.....	25.0	3.4	4.3	2.4
34	Delaware.....	24.9	15.5	16.1	10.6
35	Montana.....	20.4	11.3	7.5	4.2
36	Texas.....	19.6	13.9	4.6	2.0
37	Arizona.....	18.9	28.8	23.9	21.7
38	Tennessee.....	18.4	3.3	4.1	2.7
39	Virginia.....	17.8	9.0	7.6	4.5
40	Arkansas.....	10.3	1.5	2.1	1.1
41	New Mexico.....	9.2	8.9	5.4	3.5
42	Alabama.....	7.6	2.0	2.5	1.5
43	North Carolina.....	7.1	3.3	5.4	3.1
44	Florida.....	6.0	12.8	11.0	7.0
45	Georgia.....	5.8	3.1	2.9	1.4
46	Mississippi.....	5.1	1.8	1.5	0.8
47	South Carolina.....	4.0	3.3	3.8	1.9
48	Louisiana.....	3.8	3.1	2.6	1.2
	United States.....	34.0	15.8	13.4	9.1

Administration deal with housing in cities, or close to cities. The Resettlement Administration prepares some farms, on which houses, barns, and outbuildings are erected. No houses have yet been planned for rural laborers in this country. The closest parallel is between the Irish cottages for ex-service men and the subsistence homesteads now under the Resettlement Administration.

(b) *Objectives.* The American housing undertakings are demonstration projects, whereas those in Ireland were directed at meeting the general need in a comprehensive way.

(c) *Agencies.* The responsibility of providing laborers' cottages in Ireland was laid upon existing bodies of local government. These agencies had the work of construction done under their supervision by private contractors. The cottages for ex-service men erected after the partition of Ireland were provided under the direction of a special agency, the Sailors' and Soldiers' Land Trust, and were built by Public Works bodies in the two countries.

In the United States, the houses provided by the Resettlement Administration were erected by a Division of Construction. Of those provided by the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, part are erected by the agency itself, and part by limited dividend corporations. Those made possible by Federal Housing Administration are built privately.

(d) *Financing.* The Irish laborers' cottages were erected on land owned or hired by the local authority. The work of construction was financed by public loans, repaid through annuities. These loan charges with the expenses of maintenance are met partly by local taxation, partly by appropriations, and to a small extent by income from the cottages, which are let to rural laborers at a rental considerably below running expenses.

In the United States, the houses erected with the aid of the Federal Housing Administration are financed by mortgage loans insured by the Administration. The Public Works Administration has a large appropriation, out of which are met the cost of the dwellings erected by the Administration itself, and the construction loans made to limited dividend companies. The work carried on by the Resettlement Administration is also financed by appropriation.

The cost per house of laborers' cottages in Ireland was about \$825 before the war and less than \$2,000 after it. Though final official averages are not yet available for the American agencies, the costs plainly

TABLE III

AVERAGE VALUE OF FARMERS' DWELLINGS, 1930, AVERAGE SIZE AND AVERAGE
VALUE OF FARMS AND FARM BUILDINGS AND INCOME FROM
FARM PRODUCTION, PER FARM, BY STATES

STATE	Value of Farmers' Dwellings	Average Income 1924-1930		Value		Size of Farm (Acres)
		Cash	Gross	All Buildings	Real Estate	
Connecticut.....	\$3,708	\$3,052	\$3,531	\$6,553	\$13,226	87
New Jersey.....	3,218	3,777	4,151	5,767	11,776	69
Massachusetts.....	3,050	2,586	2,998	5,587	10,205	78
Rhode Island.....	2,965	2,622	2,996	5,386	10,388	84
New York.....	2,296	2,245	2,576	4,479	8,234	112
Iowa.....	2,212	2,921	3,224	4,827	19,655	158
Maryland.....	2,051	1,749	2,147	3,651	8,244	101
Pennsylvania.....	2,038	1,544	1,956	3,905	6,977	89
California.....	1,895	4,337	4,490	3,267	25,203	224
Wisconsin.....	1,888	1,953	2,243	4,104	9,526	120
Illinois.....	1,803	2,381	2,707	3,641	15,553	143
Delaware.....	1,789	1,829	2,156	3,267	6,896	93
New Hampshire.....	1,738	1,710	2,098	3,031	5,190	132
Vermont.....	1,728	1,907	2,244	3,306	5,861	156
Nebraska.....	1,719	2,999	3,278	3,449	19,274	345
Minnesota.....	1,704	2,068	2,357	3,623	11,471	167
Nevada.....	1,624	5,139	5,483	3,035	18,626	1,186
Ohio.....	1,619	1,490	1,830	3,013	7,720	98
Michigan.....	1,596	1,445	1,755	3,086	6,853	101
Maine.....	1,450	1,780	2,144	2,529	4,981	119
South Dakota.....	1,432	2,478	2,739	3,029	15,455	439
North Dakota.....	1,408	2,774	3,062	2,964	12,199	496
Indiana.....	1,358	1,544	1,850	2,516	7,796	108
Washington.....	1,318	2,437	2,683	2,331	10,911	191
Oregon.....	1,317	2,135	2,380	2,337	11,438	300
Kansas.....	1,271	2,340	2,600	2,329	12,738	283
Virginia.....	1,226	861	1,226	1,887	5,016	98
Utah.....	1,189	2,072	2,280	1,726	8,145	207
Idaho.....	1,117	2,572	2,797	1,848	10,012	224
Missouri.....	1,099	1,275	1,589	1,916	7,018	132
Colorado.....	1,074	2,434	2,655	1,975	10,497	482
Arizona.....	1,011	3,774	4,046	1,649	12,999	743
Wyoming.....	991	3,082	3,327	2,023	12,919	1,469
West Virginia.....	941	677	1,089	1,443	4,138	106
Montana.....	910	2,588	2,836	1,783	11,109	940
Florida.....	807	1,828	2,033	1,195	7,179	85
Texas.....	708	1,390	1,595	1,079	7,260	252
Kentucky.....	664	629	912	1,122	3,535	81
North Carolina.....	653	953	1,254	967	3,018	64
Oklahoma.....	620	1,330	1,572	1,037	6,096	166
Tennessee.....	602	623	916	926	3,025	73
New Mexico.....	526	1,594	1,776	864	6,619	982
South Carolina.....	519	790	1,084	754	2,401	66
Georgia.....	483	773	1,079	714	2,259	86
Louisiana.....	447	834	1,005	648	2,590	58
Alabama.....	408	651	906	576	1,952	68
Arkansas.....	391	718	941	577	2,261	66
Mississippi.....	377	651	819	504	1,818	55

run much higher. (In fact some critics claim that all we have demonstrated by our demonstration projects is an utter incapacity to build houses with any reasonable degree of efficiency.)

Assuming that we are not to have in the near future any large-scale program of rural housing sponsored by the Government, there is much that can be done by farmers themselves and by public agencies to improve rural housing conditions. As has been suggested, a large part of our problem is habit, and downright laziness and indifference. The number of farmers who own motor cars is proof that the lack of piped water in the kitchen, lack of bath tubs, lack of sanitary toilet facilities, etc., is not due altogether to poverty. Much of our poor housing is due to long-established home habits, to mental inertia, and to physical laziness. The three minimum essentials in the farm home are water, light, and heat. It is surprising how inexpensively these can be acquired if only farmers want them badly enough to exhibit a little enterprise. It is surprising what farmers can do with a little paint, some carpentry tools, and a little locally available raw material, if they will only show some initiative. It is surprising how much can be done to tidy up the grounds, by planting shrubs and trees dug out of the woods, if the farmers had the energy and the desire to do so. There are thousands of farm dwellings that have been made comfortable and grounds that have been made attractive, at very little cash outlay, but somebody has had to bestir himself to accomplish this. Generally speaking, farmers' dwellings have enough space; what is generally lacking is comforts, conveniences, and good appearance. With a little systematic planning any farmer within a reasonably short time and at little cash outlay can make his home both comfortable and attractive.

I believe that most progress will come from research, promotional work, and self-help by farmers themselves. Several agencies and institutions have already exhibited interest in better rural housing, such as the work being done by land-grant colleges in landscape design, farm building design, and research projects dealing with the housing problem, and extension activities dealing with better housing. North Carolina State College has recently employed an extension landscape specialist to assist in the program of more attractive farmhouses. Specialists in agricultural engineering have prepared plans for remodeling farmhouses and for new buildings. Home and farm demonstration agents should get back to the fundamentals for which they were created. They can do more to promote farm housing than all the other agencies together.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has had a Farm Home Improvement Program for nearly a decade. This program is mainly educational. The National Grange has always been interested in better rural housing. The first master of the National Grange, William Saunders, was a Scotch landscape gardener. The very heart of the Grange centers around the farm family and the farm home.

Better Homes in America is an educational organization interested mainly in raising the standards of homes for moderate- and low-income groups. This organization has accomplished much through its demonstration activities. And last but not least has been the educational and promotional work of the farm journals of America.

The volume *Farm and Village Housing* stresses the importance of education and research. Farmers must be trained and made to want higher standards of housing. Research must be stimulated to find out how actually to produce housing of a higher standard. One person has remarked that the real problem is to learn how to build comfortable farm dwellings cheaply enough for low-income farmers to afford them. Experiments are being conducted with this as the aim. The coming decade is likely to be characterized by progress in house design and construction. For farmers, it is likely that the open road to better homes is through care and improvement of the dwellings now standing.

But the rural housing problem remains with us, largely unsolved. For the great mass of Southern farmers housing covers little more than shelter from the elements, often shelter little above that provided for the livestock. There has been considerable improvement in farm housing for the land-owning element of the population. But for the tenant and low-income masses we have a broad economic and social problem, of which housing is only a detail, which is a challenge to the South and to the Nation.

Our Present Knowledge of Assortative Mating¹

C. Arnold Anderson*

ABSTRACT

Assortative mating refers to the correlation between the measurements or attributes of husbands and wives. The problem deserves inclusion in research projects on the family. Evidence is summarized to support the hypothesis that "free choice" leads to mating of like with like for all those criteria of choice which have been studied. The type of selectivity involved in friendships and other intimate associations strengthens this hypothesis. The factors in actual matings which facilitate or hinder this analytically abstract tendency are discussed; these modifications are revealing of many essential features of the family and of the society studied.

INTRODUCTION

The vast literature on human marriage and the family contains surprisingly few studies of an important phase of the family—the formation of new families. This neglect is indefensible, for both a priori reasoning and the available factual evidence support the assumption that the duration and the "success" of marriages are influenced by the respective characteristics of the two mates. There is reason to believe, moreover, that a change in mating practices would prove the most feasible approach to ameliorative "treatment" of many disintegrative processes in our family system.

Although proportionately few studies of marriage selection exist, an analysis of the hundred odd reports would require a monograph,² which is in preparation. The intention of the present paper is to emphasize the importance of the problem and to suggest a unifying hypothesis.

Pearson's distinction³ between two types of mating has been adopted

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¹ The collection and analysis of part of the materials on which this paper is based were supported by a grant from the Harvard University Committee on Social Research. It is *Journal Paper No. J-577* of the Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station of Ames, Iowa, Project No. 526.

² A selected bibliography will be found in our article, "The Sociological Approach to the Study of Assortative Mating," *International Congress for Studies Regarding Population Problems*, VIII (1932), 617-34.

³ Karl Pearson, "Regression, Heredity, and Panmixia," *Philosophical Transactions*, CLXXXVIIA (1896), 253-318; R. H. Johnson, "Mate Selection," *Proceedings Second International Congress of Eugenics*, I (1921), 916-25.

generally. Preferential mating refers to the tendency for certain types of persons, within one sex, to be chosen in marriage, with resulting exclusion of other types; e.g., there is discrimination against the less healthy persons and in favor of the more beautiful. Assortative mating is the tendency, among those who marry, for males possessing a certain attribute (or degree of a trait) to mate with females having the same or opposite attribute (or the same or different degrees of the given trait). If the correlation between husband and wife is positive, we speak of homogamy; if negative, heterogamy.⁴

Generalizations obtained from the study of assortative mating will not only enlarge our understanding of the family, but will also throw light upon many other sociological processes; for example, the basic cultural compulsives of society, the relative role of similarity and dissimilarity in the formation and solidarity of groups, and social mobility.

Our extended study of this mating process has led us to formulate the following hypothesis: There is a tendency, when selection is unrestricted, to mate homogamously—like marries like. This states what will happen, other things being equal; the relationship is an analytical abstraction of an interaction pattern. It does not deny that other factors operate either to reinforce or to weaken this tendency.

THE EVIDENCE FOR HOMOGAMY

1. *Ethnic Traits*

Endogamy of "races," facilitated by "visibility" and culturally prescribed separation, is well known. But the degree of ethnocentrism, as indicated by intermarriages, varies enormously among different ethnic groups. Although usually more than two generations pass before assimilation of immigrants with the native population proceeds far, the extent or speed of mixture is roughly proportionate to the similarity of the cultural heritages. Correction for duration of residence in the nation, sex ratios, urban-rural residence, and other extraneous factors does not eliminate the variations in endogamous tendency, which frequently is specific for particular communes in the country of emigration. The greater propensity for out-marriage among the males of a given group is favored by wider contacts and by a shortage of women in their own group.⁵

⁴ Pearson apparently intended these terms to refer to inherited traits. Later writers have tended to extend the meaning to all traits, leaving to separate analysis the question of the hereditary component or result. See the second part of our article, cited above. A German equivalent of "assortative mating" is *Gattenwahl*.

⁵ E. deS. Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929); N. Carpenter, "Immigrants and Their Children, 1920," U. S. Bureau of Census *Monograph*

2. Religion

Ethnic, economic, and religious boundaries between groups are often coterminous; but when they diverge, the religious are usually strongest. Secularization, mobility, and other modern changes weaken religious bars to marriage; yet most marriages are still between people who are alike in religion and even in particular denominational allegiance. The outstanding trend in this connection is the breakdown of Jewish solidarity; in many German cities, before the present regime, the greater number of Jews married Gentiles. In the majority of ethnic and religious marriages, as in most situations where strong social barriers exist, it is the man of the less esteemed group who more frequently finds a mate in the dominant group.⁶

3. Occupation and Social Class

Marriages occur within recognized class limits and occupational groups—even within specific occupations—in excess of chance expectancy. The relative prestige of various strata and the fine pragmatic distinctions which are made show up clearly in such an analysis. Marriage remains to a large degree a union of families and groups as well as of individuals.

Class endogamy varies in intensity at different levels of the social hierarchy; it is apparently less near the top of the pyramid. A variant marriage type, hypergamy, is quite common; women are promoted socially by marriage to a man of higher class.⁷

4. Physical Traits

Pearson's demonstration of a small positive correlation between mates for stature has been confirmed by later studies; as for some other traits the degree of correspondence is closer at the extremes of the distribution

VII, Washington, 1927; Dominion of Canada Census Bureau, *Origin, Birthplace, Nationality, and Language of the Canadian People*, Quebec, 1929; J. Drachsler, "Intermarriage in New York City," *Columbia University Studies in History*, etc. (New York City, 1921), p. 213; R. Pearl, "The Vitality of the Peoples of America," *Studies in Human Biology* (Baltimore, 1923), pp. 177-252; F. Savorgnan, *La Scelta Matrimoniale* (Ferrara, 1924).

⁶ R. Benini, *Principii di Demografia* (Florence, 1901); U. Z. Engelmann, "Intermarriage among Jews in Switzerland, 1888-1920," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV (1928), 516-23; R. C. May, "Mischehen und Ehescheidungen," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, LIII (1929), 29-67; Savorgnan, *op. cit.*

⁷ F. Chessa, *La trasmissione ereditaria delle professioni* (Turin, 1911); M. Ginsburg, "Interchange Between Social Classes," *Economic Journal*, XXXIX (1929), 554-65; D. M. Marvin, "Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XVI (1918), 131-50; M. Rubin and H. Westergaard, *Statistik der Eben* (Jena, 1890); P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York, 1927); F. A. Woods, "The Conification of Social Groups," *Proceedings Second International Congress of Eugenics*, I (1921), 312-28.

of the trait. Other studies suggest selection for "beauty," constitutional vigor and health, and physical defects like deafness. Again, we observe that male bearers of less esteemed traits more often than females can marry upward; a special instance is the tendency among Negro men to marry women lighter in complexion than themselves.⁸

5. Intelligence and Personality

The dysgenic results of differential fertility are magnified by the pronounced correlation of husband and wife in intelligence. This selection appears to occur within as well as between social classes.

The sole concrete evidence for heterogamy involves personality traits; but the accumulated recent data appear to demonstrate that similarity prevails here as well. Folsom suggested that similarity prevails in attitudes, interests and intelligence, with dissimilar behavior rhythms and emotional expressiveness. His more recent statement, however, we interpret as agreement with the hypothesis of this paper.⁹

6. Age

Statistical analysis of selection for age is more practicable by virtue of the exactness of the data. And the increasing segregation of activities of different age groups in society, together with coeducation, augments the role of this trait in marriage selection.

Correlation coefficients for age at marriage range upwards from .50; there is greater similarity in remarriages than where both persons are single. But the correlation surface is unusual in that the distributions of the ages of wives of young men tail-off upward while those for older men are skewed oppositely; the ages of husbands for given ages of wives vary correspondingly. Accordingly, the discrepancy in age first decreases and then increases with increasing age of the first mate; application of a logarithmic scale to these differences would minimize this variation. Age combinations representing close agreement occur in excess of chance, and the amount of excess varies with the degree of correspondence in age.

⁸ C. B. Davenport, "Inheritance of Stature," *Genetics*, II (1917), 313-89; E. A. Fay, *Marriages of the Deaf in America* (Washington, D. C., 1898); J. A. Harris, "Assortative Mating in Man," *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXX (1912), 476-92; M. J. Hershovits, "Social Selection in a Mixed Population," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, XII (1926), 587-93; Karl Pearson, "Assortative Mating in Man," *Biometrika*, II (1903), 481-98; E. B. Wilson and E. R. Doering, "The Elder Pierces," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, XII (1926), 424-32.

⁹ H. J. Bunker, "Genealogical Correlations of Student Ability," *Journal of Heredity*, XIX (1928), 203-8; J. K. Folsom, *The Family* (New York, 1934), pp. 449-52; J. K. Folsom (ed.), *A Plan for Marriage* (New York, 1938), pp. 72-112; H. E. Jones, "Homogamy in Intellectual Ability," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI (1930), 369-82.

There is evidence that the average difference in age of husbands and wives is decreasing under the influence of modern conditions of life. Industrialized countries in Europe show smaller differences than agricultural countries, and urban areas less than rural. In the upper classes the discrepancy is larger; the men marry later but tend to choose wives not much older than those chosen by men of the lower classes.¹⁰

7. Supplementary Evidence from Other Types of Intimate Groupings

Social contacts among children are observed to be positively selective for age, intelligence and "sociability"; and studies of older youth find added similarities between friends in personality, physique, tastes, social status, moral standards. Hamilton observed that premarital love affairs manifested the same degree of age difference as marriages. All these materials indicate an antecedent probability for the validity of the hypothesis of homogamy.

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG SELECTIVE TENDENCIES AND EFFECTS OF OTHER FACTORS

The preceding evidence has been offered in support of the abstract tendency stated earlier for traits considered singly. But matings are the resultant of clusters of characteristics. Since similarity in certain respects frequently involves unlikeness in other traits, a composite coefficient of resemblance between husbands and wives might be smaller than one for a single attribute.¹¹

The number and diversity of determinants of mate choice will be affected by the complexity of the social structure, and the weighting given to different features will vary with the social group. But the number and nature of the factors consciously considered need not reflect social complexity; note the effects of the rise of the "romantic complex."

Societies differ in the emphasis they place upon the marital bond. The marital relationship may be classified as a sentiment tie, and it will have certain immanent tendencies as we have hypothesized, but in practice there is always fusion with instrumental considerations—emphasis upon particular cultural values such as vicarious display or social mobility.

Certain of these "secondary" elements in selection may be discussed briefly. Similarity between mates is due, allegedly, to "spontaneous"

¹⁰ Benini, *op. cit.*; L. Perozzo, ". . . distribuzioni dei matrimoni secondo l'eta'degli sposi," *Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche, Mémoire*, Ser. III, X (1882), 473-503; S. J. Pretorius, "Skew Bivariate Frequency Surfaces," *Biometrika*, XXII (1930), 109-223; our article cited above.

¹¹ Benini, "Gruppi chiusi e gruppi aperti—," *Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique*, XXIII (1928), 362-83.

attraction of like to like, reinforced by culturally-induced preferences, limitations of contacts, and the interlocking of various sorts of similarities. Unlikeness reflects an asserted but unproved attraction between unlike persons, more frequently certain cultural compulsions and particular kinds of limitations of contact, plus the fact that choice on the basis of a given trait precludes similarity in others.

The factors inhibiting "spontaneous" attraction are mainly those limiting association; social contacts are not free but restricted and channeled to nearly the same extent among adolescents as among adults. Behavior is increasingly organized around specialized interests and intellectual levels.

Modern conditions of life, typified by large cities, are productive of wider contact with more chance of association among persons having similar interests. At the same time the increasing diversification of social and personality types hinders choice by virtue of involving only one segment of the personality. Disturbed sex ratios in different groups is an additional handicap. Employment of women fosters interclass matings but it also increases the opportunity of meeting congenial individuals.

Attraction is mediated by culturally-created suggestions; in some societies these arbitrary guides are very strict. Social standards of beauty, adequacy, or "personality" when applied to prospective mates often preclude adequate wider contact which would aid wiser choice. Considerations of class, wealth, refinement may be decisive; it is believed love will develop later. Great limitation on premarital contact may make the choice a matter of indifference; where cousin marriage is desired, cousins find one another attractive.

In general, prescription of contacts lessens similarity for personal or other traits not implicit in the definition. Where a groom is expected to be markedly older, ill assortment for other traits may follow. Romanticism is a revolt from restrictions, but the harmony it stresses is confined to certain personality traits only. Increasing valuation of individuality makes it more difficult to select the mate who will prove congenial. And this romanticism leads to more matings across class lines at the expense of ethnic and religious solidarity. There is frequently an associated exaggerated premium on feminine beauty with the result, among others, of a larger age difference.

Long postponement of marriage on the part of men is associated with decreased age similarity. When women show this postponement they

are permitted wider choice, and this in turn appears to be associated with greater similarity in age and many other traits.

We believe the extensive collections of data bearing upon this question support our hypothesis of homogamous unions resulting from free choice. Other materials, not included here, indicate that marital disorganization and divorce increase with dissimilarity of mates. The verification of this last generalization would be highly significant for the theory of family organization.

An Appraisal of 4-H Club Benefits¹

Weber H. Peterson*

ABSTRACT

This study compares the activity of a group of 4-H students with those of a comparable group of non-4-H students of Montana State College. The 4-H students (boys and girls) participated in college activities about one-third more than did non-4-H students, the 4-H boys participating over 50 per cent more than the non-4-H boys. Longer membership in 4-H club means increased participation in college activities and a slightly higher scholastic standing, as shown by this study. The only college activity that non-4-H students participated in more than the 4-H students was journalism. The 4-H students made greater use of the "push" their fraternities gave them than did the non-4-H fraternity students. The scholastic standing of the two groups is not significantly different; however, the standing of the 4-H students was slightly higher. A larger percentage of the 4-H students who were enrolled at Montana State College during the winter quarter of 1937 re-enrolled at Montana State College during the winter quarter of 1938 than did non-4-H students. The effect of 4-H training was more pronounced in the sophomore and junior years of college than in the freshman and senior years.

The 4-H club organization is the largest rural group of its kind in America. There are more than 1,250,000 boys and girls of America who are members. More boys and girls were regularly enrolled in 4-H clubs in the state of Montana in 1937 than in any previous year. Over 40 per cent of the students enrolled in courses in home economics and agriculture at Montana State College during the spring quarter of 1937 were former 4-H club members.

The purpose of this paper is to show the relationship between college activities of a group of "comparable" 4-H and non-4-H students of Montana State College and to determine whether young people who have had 4-H experience are more active in college affairs and have a higher scholastic standing than college students who have never belonged to the 4-H organization.² In other words, do 4-H students learn how to

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¹ The data used in this paper were taken from material compiled by the author in connection with his study "The 4-H Club Student in College Activities," submitted in partial fulfillment of the Master of Science degree in Agricultural Economics at Montana State College, June, 1938.

² By the term *comparable* is meant the similarity that exists between the 4-H and non-4-H students who were chosen for the study. An attempt was made to choose two groups of students as nearly identical as possible, one of which had had 4-H training. Members of the two groups were alike in that they were (1) from the same type of farming area,

condition themselves for group life participation for later life through the activities they participate in as members of a 4-H club?

A method of controlled and selective sampling was used in an attempt to answer the above question accurately. It was thought best to restrict the study to 4-H club boys and girls attending Montana State College during the winter quarter of 1937. There were 198 former 4-H club members and 161 non-4-H members who were included in this study.*

In order to measure and evaluate the participation of individual students of the two selected groups in college activities a rating scale was devised. This scale was constructed from data obtained from 25 undergraduate students (chosen from the entire student body), eight graduate students, and 15 faculty members. Each person of this group weighted the activities which a student might participate in while attending college. This was an evaluation of college activities by each individual of the group, and as such represents a sample of the "true value" of the respective activities on and off the campus. In this manner it was hoped that the properly weighted participation record of each student included in this study could be accurately determined and compared.

Each student of the two comparable groups filled out a questionnaire sheet, giving the activities he had participated in and the number of quarters he had been active in each. The participation record of each student was then determined by multiplying the rating or "true value" given to his activities by the number of quarters the student had participated in the individual activities. By adding the weight given to each of his activities his total participation record was obtained.

Participation Records of All Students of the Two Groups in Activities. The average total participation record for the 4-H students was almost

(2) from the same community, whenever possible, (3) from the same size family, (4) of similar age, (5) of similar fraternity membership, (6) of both sexes, (7) from high schools of similar size, (8) of the same classes and (9) courses in college, and (10) earning similar amounts of money while attending college. No attempt was made to choose students of the same intelligence or to choose students whose parents had had equal educational advantages, but from the data assembled it was found that the two groups were very similar in these two respects. Hence, it was the contention of the aforementioned thesis, that membership in 4-H clubs does not presuppose superiority nor inferiority to the check group, but both groups represent the average boy or girl.

* The discrepancy between the number of students in the two groups is due to a shortage of comparable students from which to draw the check group (students who have never affiliated with 4-H). The difference in numbers between the two groups did not affect the analysis of the data because averages and percentages were used to show comparisons between the two groups.

30 per cent higher than that for the non-4-H students. In each of the four college years the 4-H students participated significantly more than their classmates, the non-4-H club students. The seniors participated 21 per cent more, juniors 37 per cent, sophomores 40 per cent, and freshmen 24 per cent more. When the participation records were broken down into the activities of the boys and those of the girls, it was found that for the 4-H boys the participation was 59 per cent higher than for the non-4-H boys. The range of the participation records in this case being from only 28 per cent higher for senior 4-H boys to 75 per cent higher for junior 4-H boys.

The participation record of the girls in activities did not show such a pronounced difference as that between the boys of the two groups. However, in each of the four classes the 4-H club girls had higher average participation in college activities than the non-4-H girls. The participation of the average 4-H girl was 11 per cent higher than that of the non-4-H girl. Sophomore and junior 4-H girls had a participation 37 and 35 per cent greater, respectively, than did the non-4-H girls of these classes. The participation of the freshmen and senior 4-H girls exceeded by 10 and 3 per cent, respectively, their non-4-H classmates.

It is interesting to note that the fraternity 4-H students were able to utilize the fraternity to a greater extent than the fraternity non-4-H students. All fraternity 4-H students had an average participation 44 per cent higher than that of the fraternity non-4-H students. The fraternity 4-H boys had almost a 70 per cent higher participation than the fraternity non-4-H boys. The fraternity 4-H girls had a participation 16 per cent higher than the girls of the check group. All non-fraternity 4-H students were 12 per cent more active on the average than the non-fraternity non-4-H students.

Length of membership in 4-H club seems to have a direct effect on participation in college activities. With the exception of one group of students who were 4-H members for three years, there was a distinct increase in participation by the students who were 4-H members for more than one year over that of those who were members for just one year. Of those students who had been club members for seven or more years, there were 64.3 per cent of them who were above the median in participation as compared to only 41.9 per cent for the one-year 4-H members.

In order to get some idea of the activities participated in most frequently by students, the total participation of the students was broken

down into ten "activity groups." In eight of the group activities 4-H students had higher average participation. These activities and the relative percentages of participation of the 4-H and non-4-H students are shown in the following table:

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Ratio of 4-H Students to Non-4-H Students</i>
1. Athletics	24 per cent more
2. Church	34 per cent more
3. Clubs	34 per cent more
4. Councils, Fraternity Offices	24 per cent more
5. Debate, Dramatics, Music	36 per cent more
6. Honorary Societies	18 per cent more
7. Journalism	4 per cent less
8. Judging Teams	64 per cent more
9. Service Organizations	17 per cent more
10. Student Senate	9 per cent less

Over two-thirds of the total average participation of the 4-H group was made in activities 1, 2, and 3. Activities 4, 5, 6, and 9 made up 26.5 per cent of the total participation; activities 7, 8, and 10 made up the remaining 5.6 per cent of the average total activity record. Over 75 per cent of the total average participation of the 4-H girls was made in activities 1, 2, and 3 as compared to less than 60 per cent of the participation of the 4-H boys being made in these three activity groups.

For the non-4-H students the percentage distribution of the total average participation among the various activities was about the same as the distribution of the participation by the 4-H students. Almost two-thirds of their group activities were in the first three activity groups. Activities 4, 5, 6, and 9 ranged from 6.6 to 7.1 per cent of the total participation, composing 27.5 per cent of it. The remaining three activities composed only 5.2 per cent of the total average participation. Activities 1, 2, and 3 made up 71 per cent of the total average participation of the non-4-H girls, whereas these three activities composed only about three-fifths of the participation of the non-4-H boys.

The percentage of the students of the two groups who entered into the ten activities was quite similar. In only two of the activity groups was there a difference of more than 5 per cent in the participation of 4-H and non-4-H students who participated in the ten activity groups. About 92.3 per cent of the 4-H students participated in church activities, as compared to only 78.8 per cent of the non-4-H students. The per-

centage of non-4-H students who participated in activity 7, journalism, was 5.8 per cent higher than that of the 4-H students.

Analysis of Scholarship of the Students of the Two Groups. The scholastic standings of the students of the two groups were almost identical. The 4-H students had an average of 1.557 grade points per credit as compared with 1.551 grade points per credit for the non-4-H students.* Of the four college classes, the 4-H student, on the average, had more grade points per credit in the senior, junior, and sophomore classes, but not so many in the freshman class as the non-4-H student. The 4-H boys had an average of 3.2 per cent more grade points per credit than the non-4-H boys. However, the scholastic record of the non-4-H girls was higher by 1.39 per cent more grade points per credit than the 4-H girls.

Fraternity affiliation had little effect on the grades of the two test groups. The fraternity 4-H students had a slightly higher scholastic average than the fraternity non-4-H students, with the 4-H boys having about a six per cent higher average and the 4-H girls having about a 5.5 per cent lower average. There was only a slight relationship between high scholastic standing and length of membership in 4-H club.

One of the interesting relationships brought out in this study was found by a comparison of the proportion of the students of the two groups who returned to college. About 82 per cent of the 4-H students studied in 1937 were enrolled in college in the winter quarter of 1938 as compared with only 72 per cent of the non-4-H students, a difference of 10 per cent in favor of the former group. About 87 per cent of the 4-H boys returned compared with 75 per cent of the non-4-H boys. Almost 80 per cent of the 4-H girls returned to college while only about 70 per cent of the non-4-H girls did.

The 4-H Problem of the Future. In 1930, less than 30 per cent of the 4-H boys and girls of the United States were 15 years of age or over. The same was true for Montana. These figures show one of the most important problems of 4-H clubs—that of maintaining the interest of young people of the ages 15 to 20, inclusive, in 4-H club work.

This problem takes on a greater significance in view of the fact that there is a high percentage of the boys and girls of this age group who are not in school. According to the 1930 Census, there were 47,826 children between the ages of 14 and 20 in the rural districts of Montana.

* The grade points per credit are determined in the following manner: three grade points are allowed for a credit of *A*, two grade points for a credit of *B*, and one grade point for a credit of *C*; no grade points are allowed for a *D*, *E*, or *F*. The scholastic records were obtained from the records of the registrar.

Of these, only 27,911, or 58.4 per cent, were attending school. This means that there were almost 20,000 rural boys and girls in Montana receiving little, if any, guidance from a public agency, although they were changing from adolescence to manhood and womanhood. The citizens of the state might well ask themselves, What is the best means of meeting the needs of this group in education and guidance?

Montana's public school system is definitely not filling the entire need of these rural young people. In 1930, there were, on the average, 356 rural boys and girls, 14 to 20 years of age, in each Montana county, who were not attending school. There is an average of one teacher for every 30 to 40 pupils in school. If the 356 young people in every county were in school, the citizens of the state would not hesitate to employ ten teachers at an approximate cost of \$10,000. Should we, then, hesitate to spend about one-fifth of this sum for one teacher or guide in addition to the county extension agent who will give his full time to the promotion of boys' and girls' club work in every rural county of the state that has over three hundred boys and girls of this age who are not in school? This would amount to about six or seven dollars a year per pupil. Can the state, as it faces its future, afford to do less?

Summary. In the college years 1934 to 1938 at Montana State College, 4-H students participated in student activities significantly more than the comparable non-4-H students; this was especially true of the 4-H boys. The greatest differences in the participation records of the two groups showed in the sophomore and junior classes. However, the 4-H students of all four classes participated significantly more than their non-4-H classmates. Fraternity affiliation had a marked effect upon increased activities, especially those of the 4-H students. Journalism was the single activity in which non-4-H students participated more than the 4-H students. Differences in scholastic standing between the two groups were not significant. (The average scholastic standing of the 4-H boys was higher than that of the non-4-H boys, but the opposite was true of 4-H girls.) Membership in fraternities seemed to have little effect on raising the scholastic standing of the students. There was a slight relationship between the length of membership in 4-H club and higher average scholastic standing, but not so much as that between length of membership in 4-H club and higher average participation records. It was also found that a greater percentage of 4-H students returned to college than non-4-H students.

Notes

ORGANIZED RURAL LIFE IMPROVEMENT IN HAWAII

The Hawaiian Islands, comprising the Territory of Hawaii, are looked upon by a great many persons as only a tourist resort and a defense outpost. They are far more than this. True, the army, navy, and tourist have helped make the principal port, Honolulu, a modern city of about 150,000 population. But more than half of the total population of the islands is rural and most of the wealth is agricultural. These islands ship away approximately 70 million dollars' worth of raw sugar each year, and 50 million dollars' worth of canned pineapples. Besides these two crops there are substantial shipments of coffee, hides, honey, early potatoes, asparagus, and other minor agricultural products. The transportation of these agricultural products is also a creditable business in itself. Economically Hawaii is an area that depends upon agriculture. Moreover, it will remain basically agricultural. There are no minerals, metals, or fuel in the Territory. Urban industry is an impossibility. Yet the recent Statehood Commission found Hawaii far advanced economically and socially and, judged by a wide variety of indices, more than able to hold her own with at least one-third of the existing states.

Despite this agricultural base the lure of the city is as strong in Hawaii as it is on the mainland. Since the days of the early whaling and fur trading ships the Hawaiians have tended to leave their *Kuleanas* in the rural districts and to crowd into the port cities. Whole districts became depopulated, and today stone walls, *beiaus*, and villages in ruins can be found all over the islands. This cityward movement has been continuous throughout the years.

Today because of her limited industrial projects, Hawaii's cities, particularly Honolulu, are overcrowded and many people lack employment. The result is an increase in idleness, want, restlessness, delinquency, and crime in the city.

The rural social scientist finds in the Territory a fascinating laboratory. Not only is there the familiar problem of a rural-urban migration and its attendant results, so different from those on the mainland; but there is also a determined effort on the part of the leaders to solve this problem in terms of their own situation, which is discussed in this article.

Before considering this effort, however, it is necessary to sketch in some of the background.

The islands have a semitropical climate and excellent soil, which was found to be suitable for growing sugar and, later, pineapples. Because sugar and canned fruit are highly competitive agricultural products, it was found that only the most efficient form of agriculture would serve adequately in world competition. This most efficient form is held to be industrialized agriculture.

Hawaii has 40 industrialized sugar farms or plantations and 10 industrialized pineapple farms. These organizations work together in voluntary co-operatives. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, organized 70 years ago, is one of the most successful co-operatives in the world.

Industrialized agriculture found the Hawaiians disinclined toward disciplined and routine labor on farms; so it brought in laborers from all over the world: from mainland America, from Europe, from the South Seas, but chiefly from Asia—Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, and Filipinos. These imported laborers were expected to stay not longer than three years; then they were to receive free transportation back to their homelands. However, most of them found Hawaii to their liking; and while carrying on Hawaii's agriculture, they married and raised families, and have given the Islands' population higher figures than actually ever known before.

Today immigration is stopped just as it is on mainland America. The last Asiatics to come were the Filipinos in April, 1932. It is judged that Hawaii now has enough people to carry on her necessary work—and fortunately there is enough work here for all if the rural districts absorb their share.¹

The problem therefore has become one of making rural life attractive enough to induce young people already on the land to remain and to induce many in the cities to return. The sugar and pineapple farms need more men. And then there are unused areas which might produce some of the 22 million dollars' worth of foodstuffs now imported into Hawaii each year. There are vast areas that would provide subsistence farms near to existing and potential agricultural processing plants. On the basis of production of what is already grown in insufficient quantities, it is estimated that Hawaii's rural districts can comfortably provide happy homes and a livelihood for 50,000 more people than now live there. No one can predict what the future may be for Hawaii should she develop new tropical products of use in mainland America but not producible in any other part of America. For besides sugar cane and pineapple, Hawaii now grows in rather limited quantities a very wide range of tropical fruits and plants. It is believed that production of all of these can be expanded easily with increased rural man power. Already, considerable expansion is under way in taro and avocado production and in the processing and manufacturing of alpha cellulose from sugar cane bagasse in certain rural areas.

Replacements and expansion in agriculture are now carried on only by young citizen labor. To cause these young people to volunteer to carry on the industrialized agriculture and the small farming upon which Hawaii depends, requires the co-operation of the schools, the industrialized farms, and all other agencies that tend to render public and private service. This co-operation is being advanced by proper organization.

It must be admitted that in the past our schools have headed students toward the city; and our public governments, local foundations, and social service agencies have dealt too largely with Honolulu, to the disadvantage of the rural districts. The attempt is now being made to develop an awareness of the undesirability of

¹ The American citizens, born in Hawaii of immigrant laborer parents, are forming a "neo-Hawaiian race" of great attractiveness, ability, and promise. The social scientist from the mainland listens to his colleagues at the University with indulgent incredulity as they discourse about the "neo-Hawaiians." The longer he remains, the more he observes, the more likely he is to recognize that the case is arguable. And nowhere will he find less racial prejudice.

this cityward movement, and to enlist all concerned in the improvement of rural life, so that it will successfully compete with the attractions of the city.

One of the first things being tried is centralization, in recognition of the basic desire for sociability. By consolidation rural villages are being developed to a size to make practicable all the really desirable features of the city with none of the disadvantages that come from crowding and unemployment.

Excellent roads and well-lighted streets, water and sewer systems, health services, social halls, amusement places, movies, radio, telephones, electricity and electric conveniences, gymnasiums, swimming pools and beaches, modern houses, libraries, home and farm demonstration services—all the things heretofore found mainly in the city are being established generally in the rural districts. These improvements are being accomplished through co-operation. Industrialized agriculture itself is spending in rural Hawaii about four million dollars a year to improve rural social facilities. This amount is exclusive of taxes for social utilities. Additional tax money roughly allocated to social service of all sorts, amounts to about ten million dollars.²

To cause all agencies to aid and work toward the desired objective, the outstanding agency of co-operation and planned activity is the Community Association of Hawaii. This organization, which is sponsored financially by the Juliette M. Atherton Trust of Honolulu, was first started as a five-year experiment in the large Waialua District of Oahu (population about 9,000, of whom 4,200 are connected with the Waialua Agricultural Company, Ltd., a sugar farm). The experiment has been in operation three years, and it is so successful that several other active rural community associations have been formed elsewhere in the Territory.

The Waialua Community Association is composed of 32 member organizations and many individual members. Schools, churches, firms, clubs, etc., unite to improve their community. Quarterly meetings are held for the association as a whole. Between these meetings the work is carried on by an Advisory Committee

² The details of this program will appear in part in the rest of the article. It has been charged that the enterprise is paternalistic. The degree of paternalism varies with the sponsoring company but it appears to be on a very much higher level than the type of paternalism found in even the better industrial villages on the mainland, as described in Harriet Herring's *Welfare Work in Mill Villages: Study of Extra-Mill Activities in North Carolina*, or my *Industrial Village Churches*. The interesting thing is that the plantations accept the dictum that efficient social utilities pay, and they bear the bulk of the social costs. One case more or less of measles affects their profits. But those I observed, with one exception, are also sincerely trying to build a democratic society. Officers and directors of the various local organizations are not overloaded with foremen and executives. In at least one case C. I. O. organizers were allowed to use a community house to present their case (unsuccessfully) to plantation employees. Moreover, this experiment is being tried with a heterogeneous group of Asiatics and their native-born citizen children. To attempt to build in rural Hawaii a democratic society and a rich civilization from these groups with varying traditions and taboos requires high skill in social engineering. Certainly there is now more democracy and less paternalism in Waialua than there was. The enterprise may fail, but whether it succeeds or fails, it holds much of interest in the practical synthesis it is making, in ways far more varied than can be described in a single article, of rural sociology, theoretical and applied, and of general and agricultural economics.—E. DES. BRUNNER.

composed of the officers, chairmen of standing committees, delegates-at-large, and two delegates from each member organization.

The organizations and individuals present the needs of the community as seen by them. These needs are discussed and plans are made to solve the needs. Either a committee composed of representatives of the various organizations and racial groups, or some member organization is designated to handle each problem. The association backs up the work of its committees and its member organizations. Duplication is discussed and eliminated; needy voids are filled with suitably planned activities.

The scope of the work is indicated by the names of the several standing committees: Advisory, Adult Education, Community Beautification and Art, Crafts, Community Center, Health and Sanitation, Home Demonstration, Kindergartens, Library, Music, Public Programs, Recreation, and Woman's Exchange.

The Community Association endeavors to have all persons in the district take part in improving the life of the community and become engaged in various suitable activities. All persons are urged to join through their organizations, or as individuals; or if they are not already in a suitable organization they may organize themselves if they desire and thus join the community association.

The Waialua Community Association has secured land and has erected a fine community center building for one non-plantation area of the District. The Waialua Agricultural Company, Ltd., has been most co-operative in improving conditions for its people; it has erected clubhouses, gymnasiums, swimming pools, game courts, etc., and has developed bathing beaches. The community association has a full-time man and a full-time woman with suitable part-time assistants employed, and the plantation has a large staff to handle the social, recreational, and health features of its personnel.

Excellent health clinics have been sponsored by the community health committee. The library committee has established a branch of the Library of Hawaii and two substations thereof. The home demonstration committee sponsors three cottages with groups of women. The Woman's Exchange teaches crafts and has a sales market. The kindergarten committee sponsors two kindergartens.

Other projects carried out so far by the Association include: international music nights; heirloom exhibit; classes for adults in English, mathematics, automobile mechanics, chorus, instrumental music, band, lauhala weaving, cooking, art, and shop work; an average of more than one public entertainment each month; lectures; boxing bouts; Thanksgiving musicales; May Day-Lei Day festivals; Washington's birthday celebrations; a two-day cooking school; and a course in recreation leadership. The University of Hawaii, the Honolulu Academy of Arts, the Library of Hawaii, the recreation commission, the Board of Health, the Department of Public Instruction, and other agencies have lent a helpful hand. Plans are well along to provide a mobile dental unit for needy rural areas.

An illustration of the regard the people of the community have for the Association is furnished by the case of the Waialua Civic Club (composed of young American citizens of Japanese ancestry, most of them non-plantation people). This club cut across all racial and group lines and gave \$3,000 from its funds to

aid in the community-wide drive to raise a community center building fund. Prior to the influence of the community association this group had planned to use its funds for its own racial work.

There is nothing basically new in the program of the Waialua community association. Things which this association is doing are being done elsewhere by other communities in Hawaii. However, the whole field of social needs is considered and plans to meet these needs are made by the co-operative efforts of all firms, churches, schools, clubs, etc. This is the essence and the strength of the community association. Organization is proving to be the proper method for securing rural life improvement.

There is a growing community spirit. The plantation and non-plantation people of the district are becoming more friendly and more co-operative. There is a wholesome tone of community interest and accomplishment.

Other associations in addition to that at Waialua, and about half a dozen others, may start later; but the main thing is that there is a great increase of interest in rural life: All over the Territory the rural districts are becoming true competitors of the city, and a reversal of the cityward movement in Hawaii has begun.

The Community Association of Hawaii
Honolulu, T. H.

FRANK E. MIDKIFF

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN LEON COUNTY, FLORIDA

I. INTRODUCTION

Among a number of interesting social problems confronting northwest Florida is the one of old age assistance in an agricultural county which retains many characteristics of the Old South, especially its large Negro population, surviving plantations, and its cotton tenancy system. A casual discovery in the State Welfare Board's local office that a disproportionate number of the applicants for old age assistance were Negro prompted the current inquiry into the social backgrounds of the county's old age cases, with a view to ascertaining the major factors contributing to aged dependency among both Negroes and whites. Some of the questions which this investigation seeks to answer are:

1. To what extent is the economic insecurity of old age in Leon County a race problem?
2. What survival traits of slavery, if any, are to be found in the cases of destitute old Negroes?
3. What bearing has the county's declining agricultural resources upon the size of the case load? To what extent does old age assistance in this setting reflect a collapse of cotton tenancy?

II. SCOPE AND METHOD

1. *The Setting.*—A knowledge of the local area, its population and natural resources constituted the first step of the study. From Federal and State Census reports and from interviews with key persons (social workers, agricultural experts, county government officials, teachers) the information gathered indicated

a county basically rural and biracial in character, having a high percentage of tenant farmers, a Negro population outnumbering whites three to two, a large proportion of old people and children, an excess of females, and a fluctuating total population relatively static for the first two decades of the century, with a sharp increase (44 per cent) in the ensuing 15 years, largely attributable to the doubling in size since 1920 of the county's one urban community (Tallahassee).

In natural resources and land utilization, Leon County appears to be definitely on the "down grade." A 50 per cent abandonment of land in the last half century and an 80 per cent erosion (or subject to erosion) of the present farm land speak for themselves.¹ Furthermore, a downward trend since 1900 in both the number of farm owners and the number of farm tenants (from 640 to 566 for the former, and from 1775 to 994 for the latter) is also suggestive of a decline in agriculture as a means of livelihood for the county's inhabitants, and, perchance, is in part responsible for the disproportionate number of Negroes (the majority ex-slaves) now receiving old age assistance. Leon County's few remaining large plantations, part of the "cotton belt" of ante-bellum days, but now largely converted into hunting grounds by Northern capitalists, bear silent witness to the days when "cotton was king." Though greatly reduced in acreage and yield per acre—a 60 per cent drop recorded over a 25-year period—cotton still remains the chief source of cash income for Leon County's farmers. The inadequacy of that income is apparent in the average of \$75 that was realized by the cotton growers of the county last year, an amount from which rent had to be deducted. With 75 per cent of the cotton grown by Negro tenants, mostly unsupervised, with continuous cotton cropping year after year, with neglect of terracing of hilly ground, there is no mystery about the falling rate of crop acreage and production and the subsequent transformation of abandoned farm lands into hunting preserves and grazing land, and all that that implies of absentee ownership and a lessened demand for farm labor.

Brief mention should be made of the Federal government's three soil conservation projects, scattered loans affecting a comparatively small number (100) of the submarginal farmers, and of some employment opportunity for the submarginal farmers living near the turpentine and lumbering industries in the sandy, southern part of the county. In the latter connection, a map study relating soil condition to distribution of old age cases disclosed the significant finding that proportionately fewer applicants for old age assistance come from the "poor soil," smaller Negro population section of the county than from the "better soil," cotton-growing section with its 20 per cent larger Negro population. Seemingly this substantiates the previous indication that a collapsing tenant system is at the root of the county's agricultural decline.

2. *Analysis of Old Age Cases.*—Against this agricultural background, a 60 per cent alphabetical, colored and white sampling of the present active case load of the county recipients (numbering 300 cases) was made to determine the personal characteristics, family connections, economic factors, and housing conditions of aged dependents. Under personal characteristics, tabulations were made of

¹ Estimate of the County Agricultural Agent.

race, sex, age, nativity, present residence, former relief record, health, attitudes, and original slave status. For family connections, information was sought concerning the number, whereabouts, economic condition, and influence of children. The influence of other relatives and nonrelatives on the client was likewise checked. Of chief interest in the economic inquiry were the factors of ownership of homes, income of any kind, rent paid, employment history, and budgetary needs. Home conditions pertain principally to size and appearance of dwelling, care taken of it, degree of satisfaction in present home, and so forth. Supplementing a statistical attempt to compare standards and needs of Negro and white cases is a detailed study of "type" cases for determining the sequence of factors leading up to the need of public assistance—with the prospect of finding evidence in attitudes and behavior of surviving slavery influences, i.e., of psychological dependence on the white man's guidance in practical matters as a conditioning factor in the aged Negro's economic helplessness.

It is planned, if feasible, to extend the scope of the investigation to other Florida counties showing similar natural and human resources as a check on the validity of the findings in Leon County.

III. TENTATIVE FINDINGS

To date, some tentative conclusions are indicated in a partial summary of the local study, and in three sets of correlations between certain factors contributing to aged dependency in the state as a whole. First, for the local study, there appears to be a race problem in the fact that against a county population three-fifths colored, three-fourths of the sampled old age cases are Negro. Furthermore, the rural residence of 63 per cent of the 223 Negro cases—in a county farmed principally by tenants, 82 per cent of them colored—would imply a problem of tenancy as well as a problem of race. Confirming this impression is the positive correlation ($.37 \pm .07$) found between tenancy and the size of the case load for old age assistance in the 66 counties of the state for which data were available.

Next, as to personal identification, a composite picture of the typical recipient of old age assistance in Leon County is clearly that of a Negro inhabitant of a dilapidated shack on some large plantation, struggling along by "patchin" a few acres of cotton or feed crop, one who is a native of the county—left "stranded" from slavery days—illiterate, reared in the Baptist religion, widowed, living apart from the children, in relatively good health, 75 years of age, and more often a woman than a man. How well memories of slave days linger in the minds of some of the 77 per cent born in slavery is indicated in such remarks as, "I was eight years old when Freedom cried, kase I was big enough to fan flies off de white folks' tables," or "to keep de pigs from de cawn." One old Negro, recalling the sight of her mother on the auction block, exclaimed with pride: "She gotch a big price, kase she was a fast breeder."²

That children today provide little protection against the economic hazards of

² Quotations from an unpublished manuscript, "Vignettes of Slavery," by Mrs. Emeth Tuttle Cochran, former director of Old Age Assistance in Leon County.

old age is well demonstrated in the record of an average of 4.9 children born to the Negro clients and 3.8 children to the white clients. Some allowance must be made in the Negro cases for the high mortality rate among children kicked by mules, bitten by snakes, falling in the fire, dying of chills, etc. Despite expressions of willingness to assist (more often made by the white children than the colored), the subsistence standards of most of the living descendants of these aged dependents prevent the fulfillment of good intentions toward parents, especially on the part of Negro children, 45 per cent of whom were themselves recipients of charitable aid prior to or at the time of this study. A striking instance is related of an aged Negress helping to support her two married daughters. In another case, a 65-year-old son of a Negro applicant was himself seeking old age assistance. That white parents in Leon County have slightly more security from their children than do Negro parents is evidenced in the larger earnings of the white children (when employed), the 25 per cent smaller number of them on relief, and their decidedly more stable marital adjustments. One might add here the familiar observation that "common-law" wives present no particular problem for cotton belt Negroes, young or old, save in such an instance as that where a client appealed for an increase in his allowance because "in supporting a woman who is not your wife you have to treat her well to make her stay."

How much "spiritual comfort" or companionship aged dependents derive from their children, other relatives, and friends can be gauged by the 11 and 17 per cent of the total number of children, colored and white, respectively, living with their parents (approximately one child to a client) and the presence in the home of one other relative, on an average, usually a grandchild or great-grandchild. One old woman adopted some of the neighbors' children after her own children had left home. But "outside chillun" were more frequently illegitimate offspring than neighbors' children. On the whole, the evidence points to a somewhat *lonelier* condition for the Negro client. With both races, relatives as well as children are reported as "too poor" to render any appreciable material assistance to the "old folks."

Finally, a comparative analysis of the economic status of Negro and white applicants for old age assistance reveals certain small but essential differences in the planes of living of the two races. In only one item out of ten do the Negro aged appear to have the "advantage"—if such it can be called—of insurance, 57 per cent of them having burial policies costing on an average of 12 cents a week as compared with only seven per cent of the whites having insurance, payments averaging 59 cents weekly. In all other items (home ownership, differential earnings, etc.) the aged whites present a somewhat less destitute picture. For them, in comparison with the Negroes, there is a six per cent higher proportion of home ownership, 11 per cent fewer renters, 60 per cent fewer with tenant background, a \$12 differential in earnings last received, 17 per cent fewer instances of poor housing and household furnishings coupled with an average of one more room to the home, a \$2.50 larger monthly budget need (ranging to a top figure of \$30 compared with \$15 for the Negro applicant), and a previous relief record in 14 per cent fewer cases—all indicating a relativity of poverty favoring the

white applicant. Further indication of the lower standards and fewer needs for those with slavery and tenancy background is the work on a "subsistence level" reported in the employment history of more than 50 per cent of the colored cases. More eloquent, perhaps, than any statistics in this regard are the expressions of the Negroes themselves when receiving government aid—often their first real money in years: "I'se gwine eat a heap of meat and fish"; "I'se gwine buy a bran' new dress which I ain't never had but once"; "I'se want a real bed to sleep in."

In conclusion, the relief story of Leon County's aged dependents suggests a problem reflective of the social heritage of slavery and related in no small degree to a sick or dying tenant system in which the Negro has been, and still is, the chief victim. For the state as a whole, aged dependency appears to be not a race problem, inasmuch as no correlation was found to exist between the presence of the Negro and the size of the "old age" case load in the 66 counties of the state. Instead, the evidence of the research on this project to date points to an economic condition independent of the race ratio of the various counties. A positive correlation of $.57 \pm .09$ between rural population and aged dependency, a negative correlation of $.46 \pm .06$ between land value and aged dependency, and a $.37 \pm .07$ positive correlation between tenancy and aged dependency would seem to indicate that economic insecurity of old age in Florida is definitely a rural social-economic problem, a socioeconomic maladjustment victimizing members of both races. Finally, from a regional standpoint, the fact that the cotton-belt counties of north Florida do not show an above-average case load might well indicate not so much condition of actual need as of an administrative policy based on race differentiation in standards of living.

PAUL W. SHANKWEILER

LEPLAY SOCIOLOGY IN ITALY

Among the many contributors to the theory and methodology of sociology, Frederic LePlay holds in many respects a unique place.¹ Not only is he practically alone in having founded a distinct school in sociology, but his method of studying the sociology of the family has persisted to the present time, without necessity of any major changes or apologies. This note summarizes recent Italian studies of the same type. That the contribution of LePlay has survived diffusion in both time and space is fairly adequate demonstration on *Wissenssoziologische* grounds of its importance.

The series of monographic studies of Italian rural families is edited and published by the National Institute of Agrarian Economics (Istituto Nazionale di Economia Agraria). They carry the general title of *Monographs of Rural Families* (*Monografie di Famiglie Agricole*). Although agricultural social science was a subject of study in a few Italian colleges before the World War, it was only

¹ See C. C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton, *Family and Society* (New York, 1935). See also P. A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), chap. II; here he devotes an entire chapter to the LePlay school, the only chapter devoted to the work of a single man and his followers. LePlay's monographic studies, *Les Ouvriers Européens*, were first published in 1855.

after the war that any widespread, concerted exploitation of the field was undertaken. Professor Serpieri, who had previously served in the Ministry of Agriculture, was in 1923 made Under-Secretary of Agriculture in the Ministry of National Economy. Soon afterward, the Institute of Agricultural Economics and Statistics was established, and later (1932) the National Institute of Agrarian Economics (I. N. E. A.) was made a separate organization.

The I. N. E. A. was established to undertake research in agricultural and forest social science. It was to study particularly the needs for general legislation in agricultural development and rural class organization. In addition to the central office it has eight regional centers scattered throughout Italy. Since its foundation, the Institute has published a large number of studies, through both the central office and the regional centers. These include individual studies by agricultural social scientists and a number of LePlay type monographs on the peasant family. The 13 volumes of family monographs discussed here represent only one phase of the research activity that has been, and is currently, carried on in reference to the Italian rural population.

The investigation of rural family life was undertaken by the I. N. E. A. as a supplement to the purely economic research into rural conditions. While the economic researches are by no means limited to quantification, the need was felt to understand intimately the life of the landworkers. The word "need" is well chosen, since the studies are not the product of "idle curiosity," but are eminently practical in purpose. The studies are motivated largely by the interest of the Fascist government in the rural social and economic life of the Italian people. The special focus of attention thus is in "changes encountered in these later times, and especially since the war, in the level of life and in the psychology of the peasants, thus arriving at a knowledge of the desires and needs which are still not satisfied."

In carrying out the various investigations it was necessary to have a certain division of labor, since no one person had all the qualities necessary for satisfactory editing, to say nothing of collecting the materials. Obviously, in order to gain information of the intimate life of the families selected for study, it was necessary to choose investigators who were familiar not only with the region but with the particular families. Thus the actual data were largely collected by students at the various regional agricultural schools, priests, doctors, and by interested and intelligent proprietors. The editing of the studies was carried on by those trained in rural social science, principally in the regional *Osservatori*. These latter also had the task of editing a general outline of the territorial conditions in which the family lives. The central Institute arranges the general distribution of the work, and the publication of the monographs. Each of the volumes published in the series, with the exception of two devoted to the Sicilian peasants (IV and IX), deals with a different geographical region of Italy. The series as a whole represents practically a complete coverage of the Italian rural areas. A few more monographs are promised, together with a synthetic conclusion summarizing the results of the investigations now being prepared by Ugo Giusti.

The monographs represent the conscious and consistent use of the LePlay method of family study. This method is set forth in the *Guide* of Professor Serpieri, and use is also made of the suggestions of Coletti, a follower of the LePlay method. The monographs of each region are introduced in every case by a demographic, geographic, and economic description of the region, with pictures and maps. This is followed ordinarily either by a generalized description of the conditions of the families of the rural class under consideration—sharecroppers, small proprietors, farm laborers—or of the socioeconomic problems of the region. In some cases both are included.

The monographic studies themselves, varying from two to seven in each volume, follow the LePlay outlines closely. The subjects covered may be enumerated as: (1) place; (2) civil status; (3) religion and moral habits; (4) hygiene and health service; (5) rank of the family; (6) property; (7) subventions; (8) work and industry of the family; (9) foodstuffs and eating; (10) house, furniture, and clothing; (11) recreation; (12) history; (13) customs and mores assuring well-being of the family; (14) analysis of income; (15) expenses; (16) accounts annexed to the record.

The various studies deviate somewhat from rigid adherence to this outline. Almost all of the subjects are given at least cursory attention in every study. In some monographs, however, similarity of certain conditions to those revealed in other monographs in the same volume makes repetition unnecessary. In certain cases complete materials were not available, because of the recency of migration to the territory, reticence of the family to reveal certain aspects of its living, or other causes. In some studies several of the items may be combined into one, and in others additional introductory items are included so that the total number of items may vary two or three in either direction from the original 16. These are all minor variations adopted to meet the circumstances of collecting and editing the materials. Of more importance is a variation in the character of the item corresponding to number 13 above. As in the original studies made by LePlay, this is one of the most important sections of the monographs, but for slightly different reasons. LePlay here attempted to determine the mores and institutions which assured the physical and moral well-being of the family, such as attitudes which assured pleasant relationships with the employer, habits of thrift, hereditary family property, etc. The Italian monographs, as previously indicated, are tuned to the practical needs of the peasant family. It is at this point in the presentation of the materials that the unsatisfied needs and desires of the family are indicated. While these are based on the specific conditions of the family in question, the typological character of the studies makes the materials of more general interest for the class and region.

Following the actual monographs, each volume has a bibliography of related materials on the economic or social conditions of the region, and an appendix containing reprints of any previously published monographs on the families in the region. The combination of these features rounds out the studies to give a fairly complete picture of the available materials for any region. The discussions

of the region, family status, housing, etc., are illustrated by maps, pictures, and floor plans.

Obviously enough, the possibility of generalization for any region or rural class, or the combination of the two, depends on the families chosen for study. True to the LePlay tradition, the typological method was followed closely. But many difficulties are presented in finding a type which will reveal all the major characteristics of the economic position and geographical region without exaggerating any feature. This could not be arrived at statistically, since the main statistical sources are the family budgets. The latter may vary widely, both quantitatively and qualitatively, without greatly affecting the family type. It was in the attempt to secure type families that the regions for study selected were those having sufficient territory to assure a fairly large population, yet of sufficient agricultural homogeneity to assure a certain uniformity in the living conditions of the inhabitants. Having fixed the territory and type of the family to be studied, there remains the task of finding a family whose characteristics correspond to those most frequent in the region, or better, several families which represent the principal variations from the type. Sometimes the regions were typological and the families typical and *vice versa*.

This typicality, of course, must be interpreted broadly, since there are qualitative differences of varying degrees of importance between any two families, however homogeneous their life and activities. In certain respects the validity of the choice may be checked against general statistical and economic materials available for the region as a whole. It may again be pointed out, furthermore, that the choice of the families and the study of them was not simply external, but was made by those familiar with the region and the families in question. Thus formalized selective criteria were supplemented by intimate acquaintance with details which could escape strictly external consideration.

Of the total of 62 families for which monographic studies were made, 37 showed a saving for the year in which the study was made, while 25 suffered a loss. The latter group was composed largely of the poorer sharecroppers who incurred additional debts. The average income of the families studied was L. 11,457, with a range from L. 2,430 to L. 80,800. (A lira was about five cents in American money.) The average farm and living expenses were L. 10,648, with a range from 2,519 to 67,910. Both farm and living expenses are given in the reports. There was an average saving per family of L. 809. The range, however, in this case was from a loss of L. 8,415 to a saving of L. 12,890. More families showed savings in the later than in the earlier studies. Since the studies cover a period of six years (1931 to 1937) it is possible that a general improvement in farm economic conditions is reflected. It is also true that the earlier studies included a larger proportion of tenant farm families, whereas the later monographs are more nearly devoted to farm proprietors and large plantation tenant families. The combination of the two factors probably accounts for the tendency noted.

The figures in the budget are computed from real and estimated income and expenses. The value of farm contributions to family living at local retail prices was estimated. Some of the gains and losses therefore may be "on paper." A

combination of such items may produce the appearance of a net saving, whereas there is no money income saved. The gains were oftentimes reflected in increased inventories.

It is obviously impossible to trace in any detail the findings of the studies. Reference to the bibliography, where the titles of the volumes are translated, will indicate the agricultural classes and the regions covered. Although it is difficult to state conclusions applicable to regions and classes varying so widely in economic life, the studies reveal that all of the regions suffered from the postwar economic instability. In certain cases (such as the sharecroppers of the valleys of the Pesa and Chianti) this has resulted in a more or less temporary breakup of the large stem family. As a whole, the peasant family is indicated as being sufficiently strong to withstand economic changes.

It should be noted in passing that the family budget is given less emphasis in these studies than it was given by LePlay. The primary reason for this is the smaller importance attached to strictly quantitative aspects of the monographs as revealing the well-being of the family. A secondary consideration was the difficulty of securing necessary information to complete all the items in the classical model, and the difficulty of securing *normal* figures for a period of rather rapid economic fluctuations. This is not so much a change in structure as a change in emphasis upon parts of the original scheme. It does not appear to limit the validity of the studies, but may, on the contrary, meet the objection that LePlay overemphasized quantification.

So far as the comprehensive LePlay theories of family and society are concerned, the Italian studies are not of outstanding significance, because the purpose of the monographic investigation was eminently practical, and the investigations are confined to a *single* society: the Italian corporative state, where with few exceptions the rural family type does not vary from patriarchal to unstable, but is that of the *famille-souche*.

In any science, the realms of theory and practice are not coterminous. Many things are of practical importance in the application of science which have no implications for the theoretical system. On the other hand, it is well known that considerations of prime theoretical importance affect practice little, if at all. In the present studies, the focus of attention is upon the practical needs of Italian peasants, not upon sociology of the family as such.

Although varying in size and strength, the typical Italian family studied represents the *famille-souche*. This is equally true in the strong Sicilian family—though the family is fairly small owing to emigration—and of the very large plantation family of the Trevigian March.² This and the fact that the studies are limited to a single society serve to indicate that the familiar relationships between family type and simple and complex societies drawn by LePlay would here be impossible. However, if similar series of studies were to be extended in Italy to urban families of various classes, similar comparisons of theoretical interest might

² Cf. Vol. 10 of the *Monographs*. Some of the families have as many as three or four stems, in addition to the main stem; the head of the main stem is the head of the entire family.

be drawn. Likewise, if a series of studies of the same extensive and intensive character could be made in a number of countries, the LePlay theories could be subjected to modern testing and revision. Without the advantages of a central organization responsible for uniformity and extension of the investigation, similar studies would be difficult elsewhere. From practical viewpoints, as well as theoretical, a national extension of American studies such as these might well be undertaken. The character of the studies and their utility in a modern interpretation of family living seem to demonstrate the lasting value of the model and method of Frederic LePlay. The adoption of this type of study at this time in Italy is indication of a revival of creative interest in rural life.

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THE FARMER GOES TO THE MOVIES

When farm families look for entertainment, one of the favored diversions is "going to the movies." Lack of funds or limitation of facilities may be responsible for the less frequent attendance than is the case among urban families, but nonetheless, the moving picture show is one of the main attractions for rural families bent on relaxation.

According to a preliminary report just issued by the Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, an average of 20 per cent of the farm family's recreation money is used for this form of entertainment. At least this was true for a 12-month period in 1935-36 for which data were assembled in the Study of Consumer Purchases, sponsored by the Bureau of Home Economics and financed by the Works Progress Administration for the employment of statisticians, clerical workers, and other qualified persons taken from the relief rolls.

The statistics on expenditures for moving picture tickets were arrived at through an analysis by the Bureau of Home Economics of the accounts of 14,570 farm families from which these data were assembled by W.P.A. workers employed in the Study of Consumer Purchases. This analysis revealed that a majority of the farm families attend moving picture shows during the period covered in the study.

"Rural interest in the movies, as reflected by expenditures and number of families," the preliminary report states, "showed wide variation in different sections of the country. Only a few clearly defined trends are evidenced, indicating that the movie habits of many farmers are influenced more by the tastes and habits of the immediate neighborhood than by regional lines. The Pacific Coast, and especially California—where pictures are made and farm families are likely to know a star or the friend of a star—showed the most active interest in movies. Eighty-two per cent of the California families studied attended at least one movie during the year. Of the part-time Oregon farmers living near Portland, 80 per cent had expenditures for movies; and the Washington-Oregon farm families did not lag far behind since 74 per cent reported some money spent on this item of recreation. On the whole, more Northern families showed interest in the Hollywood productions than families of the Southern rural areas. A notable exception was found, however, in the Pennsylvania-Ohio area where only about

one-third of the families studied spent any money at all for movies during the year."

While one might have expected the contrary, differences above and below the Mason and Dixon line were not apparent for the percentage of total recreation expenditures, according to the report. The analysis by the Bureau of Home Economics reveals that for white farm operators' families in New Jersey the percentage of expenditures for movies of the total spent for entertainment was 30.8; in California 28.4; and in both Georgia and Mississippi, 25.1. At the lower end of the scale for white families, the percentage for North and South Carolina was 15.2; for each of Pennsylvania and Ohio the percentage was 14.5; and for Michigan and Wisconsin the figure was 13.8 per cent.

"In the Southeast," the report states, "movie attendance was much more common among white than among Negro families and more common among families of farm operators than of sharecroppers. Nearly half the white operator families studied there reported movie expenditures, but only one out of every three white sharecroppers spent any money at all for picture shows during the year. The average expenditure of the 2,209 Negro families of the Southeast was about \$1.00 per family per year, operators spending about the same as sharecroppers. Except in the Southeast, expenditures of white families only were studied."

Works Progress Administration

A. W. VON STRUVE

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis, Editor

DISADVANTAGED AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

"Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture,"¹ a publication of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, sets forth in bold relief the "sore spots" in rural life in America. Data marshaled from many sources, with exposition and charts based thereon, drive home to the reader the impression that low incomes, bad lands, tenant and hired labor status and concomitant disadvantaging conditions of low standards of living, dependency, and migration are dire circumstances affecting large segments of our agricultural population.

Among conditions emphasized by the authors are the following:

1. During the depression at least 3,500,000, or one out of every four rural families in the United States, had received public assistance at some time.
2. There is tremendous mobility among farm families, indicating attempts of hundreds of thousands to find more satisfactory adjustments than they have at present. Approximately 3,000,000 persons move from farms to towns and cities or from towns and cities to farms each year. Over 1,000,000 farm families move from one farm to another each year.
3. There are more than a half million farms in the United States on land that is so poor that it will literally starve the families living on it if they continue to try to make a living by farming it.
4. In 1929 approximately 1,700,000 farms on which lived some 7,700,000 people yielded \$600 or less gross farm income, based upon value of products sold, traded, or used. A few more than 900,000 farms yielded less than \$400 income, and almost 400,000 yielded less than \$250.
5. It is a conservative estimate that one-third of the farm families of the Nation are living on standards of living so low as to make them slum families.

*A Survey of the Demand for Agricultural Labor in Oregon*² presents in narrative, graphic, and tabular form, information relative to the fluctuation in employment of farm laborers in 28 major crops for the state and six major regions. The labor needs of the state viewed seasonally reach a peak in July, when 22,712,534 man hours are required. There are minor peaks during the spring seeding period

¹ Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, "Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture," United States Department of Agriculture, *Social Research Report No. VIII*, Washington, April, 1938 (multigraphed, pp. 124).

² H. H. White, *A Survey of the Demand for Agricultural Labor in Oregon*, Oregon State Planning Board, Salem, December, 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 17, tables).

in March and during the harvest of hops, prunes, and other crops and fruits in September. Although hay harvest during July requires 8,859,000 man hours, or twice the number of man hours required in the raspberry harvest, it does not represent such an acute problem because the latter is a more perishable crop concentrated chiefly in Willamette Valley. Hay is distributed over the entire state, thus enabling various local supplies of labor to be tapped.

In a report *Types of Tenant Areas in Tennessee*⁸ 13 separate regions with different tenancy rates, conditions, and problems are delineated. It is stated that tenancy in the state increased from 34.5 per cent in 1880 to 46.2 per cent in 1935. Seventy-eight per cent of the colored farmers are tenants. Nearly one-fifth of all tenants in Tennessee are related to their landlords. In one area in the Western Highland Rim one-fourth are related; in another area in the southwestern portion of the state one-tenth are related.

A study of "Some Legal Aspects of Landlord-Tenant Relationships"⁹ discusses statutory provisions unfavorable to the establishment of satisfactory landlord-tenant relationships in Iowa. Present laws hold the tenant responsible for waste of and damage to a landlord's property, but there is no statute requiring that the tenant be reimbursed for any improvements he may effect. Under Iowa law the landlord may collect triple damage for waste; this right, however, is seldom abused.

The landlord's lien provision which, in the case of a cash rent lease, entitles the landlord to seize the tenant's crops, livestock, farm equipment, and household goods, except those covered by statutory exemption, puts the owner in a strong position. When the usual lease provision waiving the exemption rights is in effect, the landlord is in an even stronger position, and the tenant may experience difficulty in procuring production credit. Crop failure or low prices make it difficult for the tenants operating under such conditions.

Farm tenants with indefinite contracts should be entitled to a six months' period of notice of termination of lease rather than one month's notice, as in the case of urban leases. In fact, urban and agricultural landlord-tenant relationships should be covered by different statutory provisions. Other recommendations are made which are calculated to make for better tenure relationship.

*The Problem of Unemployment and Poverty of Farm Hands in Agriculture*¹⁰ is the title of an agenda for the annual conference of the International Confederation of Agriculture which met in Prague, July 9, 1938. Summaries and digests of papers on farm labor problems and their solutions, prepared by 22 experts from separate countries, are included. The countries are classified according to

⁸ Charles E. Allred and E. E. Briner, *Types of Tenant Areas in Tennessee*, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, June 15, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 46).

⁹ Marshall Harris, A. H. Cotton, and Rainer Schickele, "Farm Tenure in Iowa; Some Legal Aspects of Landlord-Tenant Relationships, V," Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 371, Ames, April, 1938 (pp. 63).

¹⁰ M. André Borel, *Le Problème du Chômage et de la Pénurie de Main-d'Oeuvre dans l'Agriculture*, Confederation Internationale de l'Agriculture, Prague, July, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 84).

the types of problems with which they are confronted, and the conclusions of all the papers are synthesized.

POPULATION

The Problems of a Changing Population, a report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, published in May, 1938, represents one of the most complete compendia of knowledge ever assembled on the population of the United States. Few factors related to population migration, health, education, and reproduction are left untouched. Some of the conclusions reported are the following:

1. There are great regional divergencies in the level of living of farm people. For example, the average value of farm products per male agricultural worker during the middle 'twenties was \$672 in the Southeast as compared with \$1,495 for the rest of the country.
2. In the counties having the lowest material level of living, 77 per cent more children were born than necessary to replace their parents, as compared to 17 per cent for counties with the highest level of living.
3. The inequalities of educational opportunity that exist between rural and urban communities constitute a challenge to our ideal of democracy. Approximately a third of the Nation's children live on farms and nearly half of them attend rural schools; in general, it is the rural child whose formal education has been most neglected.
4. As a class, the total farm population is supplying about 60 per cent more births than are necessary for replacement. The most fertile class is farm laborers followed by farm renters; the least fertile are farm owners. Analysis of 1928 birth registration reports indicated that reproduction rates of the professional and business classes were from 15 to 25 per cent lower than requirements for replacement.
5. Rural people die in relatively greater numbers from the diseases of childhood—measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, diphtheria—and from certain of the diseases of adolescence and young adult life such as tuberculosis. Toward conquering these diseases medical science has made great progress. City people have a higher rate of mortality from the diseases of adulthood—heart disease, cancer, nephritis, cerebral hemorrhage, diabetes mellitus. Against these diseases medical science has made less progress.
6. Under maximum conditions for natural increase, the United States may reach its population peak of approximately 158,000,000 within fifty years; under minimum conditions 139,000,000 may be reached by 1955. In this case a decrease of 10,000,000 may occur during the next quarter century.
7. The total number of births per year reached a peak in the years 1921-1925. There has been a general trend toward decrease in births since then.
8. The Nation must face the serious problem of a rapidly increasing group of older workers. From 1935 to 1975 there is predicted an increase of 69 per cent in the number of persons 45-64 years of age as compared with a 6 per cent increase in the number of persons 20-44 years of age.

9. A more favorable distribution of the open country population in relation to economic resources depends on an increase in employment opportunities arising from a general revival of industry.

10. The increase in the farm population from 1930 to 1935 must be attributed to a movement from cities and villages to farms accompanied by a slowing down of interchange of population between farms and town. People who moved to farms settled, not so much in poor isolated farming counties as is often assumed, but on part-time or subsistence farms in or near industrial and mining communities. Sixty-four per cent of the total increase in farm population took place in these industrial and mining counties. This increase was due largely to the fact that there was little or no movement outward.

11. Sixty per cent of all occupied hospital beds in the United States are now assigned to patients suffering from nervous and mental diseases.

12. More research in population is needed to develop a sound population policy. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and the Population and Research Divisions of the Bureau of the Census and other agencies dealing with population should be strengthened.

A report, *Recent Migration into the Pacific Northwest*,⁶ estimated that 36,000 families migrated from drought areas into the rural communities of the Pacific Northwest from 1930-1937. These settlers, according to the report, tended to gravitate toward problem areas. One survey made through rural school teachers and county agricultural agents in the state of Washington estimated that 50 per cent of the new settlement had occurred in problem areas. In Oregon, the largest settlement was in the counties of lower average gross farm income. Another study disclosed that of 20,917 recent settlers in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, 48 per cent had made farms on unimproved land, 24 per cent had obtained farms previously abandoned, and 28 per cent had obtained going farms or subdivisions of going farms. This plus other evidence indicates that such unguided resettlement is unsatisfactory, leading to misuse of natural resources and a perpetuation of human deprivation.

With reclamation and use of all available land, probably 150,000 new farm units is somewhere near a maximum which an expanded agricultural development may anticipate in the area. Among other recommendations are the following: that all irrigation construction be speeded up; that where possible new good land be brought into use by reclamation; that land classification and zoning work be expedited; that settlers be granted public credit to enable them to establish themselves on holdings which will allow them to attain an adequate standard of living; and that general and work relief regulations be modified to mitigate dire distress among migrant families.

Migration into Oregon 1930-1937,⁷ indicates that the large immigration of 53,329 persons was doubtless caused by climatic conditions in the Great Plains States and other sections of the country. This two-year period supplied almost

⁶ Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, Portland, Oregon, May, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 38).

⁷ V. B. Stanbery, *Net Migration and Population Estimates*, I, Oregon State Planning Board, Salem, February, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 96).

twice as many migrants as the previous five years, when there were 28,201 migrants.

"Population Trends in Minnesota"⁸ indicates that that state's population has not been keeping pace with the five neighboring states. A report of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research states further that 40 of the 87 Minnesota counties in 1930 had suffered a decline in population. From 1920 to 1930 the entire rural section of the state actually lost population, and all but seven counties and a few of the larger cities were losing people by migration. A stable population had been reached by 1935 in 75 per cent of the area of the state.

The recent population growth in Minnesota is practically 100 per cent urban. This is due to a large internal migration movement from the farms to the cities. Conversely, the population of most of rural Minnesota is on the decline owing, not to natural causes such as the excess of births over deaths, but to the inability of a portion of our farm population to maintain a satisfactory standard of living, thus causing migration to the cities and to other states.

A county analysis of the growth and distribution of Nebraska's population, both rural and urban, as well as an analysis of its color, nativity, and origin, is presented in a State Planning Board Report.⁹ Data included in text, charts, and tables give vital statistics of age, sex, and marital status of the population as well as an analysis of gainful workers and families.

A similar report has been received from Canada.¹⁰

A Works Progress Administration report¹¹ upholds the thesis that in the past most migrants to cities were from poor land areas. It is estimated that during the decade 1920-29, 60 per cent of the migrants from the land were from the South, the bulk of them coming from poor land areas. The problem area of the southern Appalachians contributed large numbers. About 25 per cent of the 1920 farm population in the mountain area which included Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia have since left their farms. The report deals chiefly with modern technological developments in industry and agriculture—productivity, production, employment, and re-employment of displaced workers.

PART-TIME AND SMALL ENTERPRISE FARMING¹²

A field investigation including schedules from 4,746 white and colored families located in seven counties in representative block sample areas depicts the relative advantages of part-time farming and full-time industrial employment. Description of goods produced on the farms and in the gardens of the part-time

⁸ "Population Trends in Minnesota and What They Mean," Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, *State Governmental Research Bulletin No. 8*, St. Paul, June, 1938 (pp. 36).

⁹ *Nebraska's Population*, a preliminary report by the Nebraska State Planning Board, Lincoln, December 15, 1937 (pp. 136).

¹⁰ *The Population of Manitoba*, a preliminary report published by the Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg, January, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 185).

¹¹ David Weintraub and Irving Kaplan, *Summary of Findings to date, March, 1938*, Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, Philadelphia, 1938, (pp. 156).

¹² B. L. and R. B. Hummel, *Part-Time Farming in Virginia*, Works Progress Administration of Virginia, Division of Rural Research, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 89).

farmers is given, and comparisons are made with other part-time farmers and full-time industrial employees, as revealed by studies made of other areas.

The average part-time farmer lived slightly farther from his work, was slightly older, had not quite so good an education, received slightly lower industrial wages, received less cash family labor income, had a greater household indebtedness, had fewer household facilities and conveniences, but received a greater gross annual income, was more frequently a home owner, lived in a larger and more valuable house, had a larger family, enjoyed lower costs of living, and, judging from organization participation and leadership, had "a better community spirit."

Sixty-six per cent of the part-time farmers owned their homes and 2.4 acres of land, which was the average farm for the sample. The average part-time farmer earned \$835 in industrial employment, at which he worked almost full-time, or 234 days. In addition to this, the family made \$180 cash equivalent from the part-time farm. The home garden, averaging .68 acres, made the chief contribution from the farm. Over two-thirds of the families kept poultry, over half owned hogs, but over two-thirds of the white operators and nearly three-fourths of the colored part-time operators grew no field crops.

The authors conclude that part-time farming does not seriously interfere with the marketing of agricultural products produced for sale and that it is apparent that under present conditions there will inevitably be a widespread and significant expansion of part-time farming in Virginia.

"Shall We Move to the Country—A statement of the opportunities and problems met in acquiring and managing a small farm"¹³ is the title of an Experiment Station and Extension Circular by R. C. Ross, *et al.* It sets forth the advantages and disadvantages of the small farm in Illinois, indicating sources of credit and giving other advice for persons contemplating operation of small farms. Included are tables showing the amount of vegetables per person to plant and other foods to produce in order that the families' needs may be supplied. Amounts of feeds necessary for certain livestock combinations are also included.

RURAL YOUTH

In a study made by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, *Youth Tell Their Story*,¹⁴ first-hand information and opinions were secured through personal interviews with 13,528 young people between the ages of 16 and 24 living in the state of Maryland, a sample which the authors feel exhibits to a great extent the characteristics of the national youth population.

The youth studied were grouped according to such characteristics as age, sex, race, marital status, residence, parentage, education, and economic status. The general questions included in the interviews concerned home life, education, employment, leisure time activities, religion, and attitudes toward such subjects as

¹³ College of Agriculture, University of Illinois, Agricultural Experiment Station and Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics, *Circular No. 479*, Urbana, December, 1937 (pp. 31).

¹⁴ Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, a study of the conditions and attitudes of young people in Maryland between the ages of 16 and 24, conducted for the American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, Washington, 1938 (pp. 273).

wages, relief, child labor, the suffrage, employment of married women, war, and the youth problem. The outstanding conclusions drawn from the data made available by these interviews were that the youth consider their greatest problems economic in nature, and that it is very exceptional for a youth to rise above his father's economic level. The forces operating to cause this condition are the association of presence in a low occupational group with low income and large families, and consequent limitation of educational opportunities for the children, who in turn are forced into low occupational groups by lack of educational opportunities, employment at an early age, early marriage, and large families of their own. It is suggested that what is needed is more effective educational, vocational, and recreational programs for all youth.

RURAL DEPENDENCY

"Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief"¹⁵ is the title of a Works Progress Administration report which analyzes the extent of as well as the results of the removal of families from Emergency Relief Administration rolls between June and December, 1935, in sample rural counties in Montana, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Iowa, West Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.

Projects of the Works Progress Administration, the Bureau of Public Roads, and other Works Program agencies furnished the major source of employment of the former Emergency Relief Administration cases. Those cases that were unable to find employment either on the Works Program or in private industry or to get aid from the Resettlement Administration numbered one out of six or seven in most of the states.

Federal funds for general relief to such cases were being rapidly exhausted in December, 1935, and some of the states had not yet accepted responsibility for general relief to the needy within their borders. They were leaving the entire task to local governments, often impoverished from the effects of the depression.

From 7 to 17 per cent of the total number of rural families formerly on Emergency Relief Administration rolls of the seven states were depending on relatives and friends, surplus commodities, loans, sale of personal belongings, and other miscellaneous sources. From 3 to 8 per cent reported no income at all in the month of December. The states studied represented a variety of conditions, both with regard to the administration of relief and opportunities for private and other employment.

An Experiment Station Bulletin¹⁶ attempts to answer the question, What is the extent of old age dependency in relation to the total aged population in South Dakota? It also analyzes data relevant to accepted, rejected, and pending applications for old age assistance. Although the Federal Government through the

¹⁵ Rebecca Farnham and Irene Link, "Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph XIII*, Washington, 1938 (pp. xxiv, 115).

¹⁶ John P. Johansen, "The Extent of Dependency upon Old Age Assistance in South Dakota," Department of Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station of the South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, *Bulletin No. 318*, Brookings, February, 1938 (pp. 46).

Social Security Board has assumed more than one-half of the cost of old age assistance, state outgo for this item is so great as to rank with the largest expenditure for any purpose. Between three and four out of every ten aged persons in the state need public assistance. Since during 1937 there was a shortage of state funds, all the 15,397 needy and eligible aged did not receive aid.

In order to compare the relative dependency of different age and sex groups and groups of various national origin and lengths of state residence, several methods of estimating the number of persons over 65 years of age were tested. Among the findings of the study are the following:

1. In South Dakota the aged population as a whole is rapidly increasing in numbers.
2. Economic and financial conditions during the past decade have depleted the resources of persons now reaching the age of 65 or 70.
3. There was a marked tendency as the assistance program developed for an increasing proportion of applicants to come from the age group from 65 to 70.
4. It is doubtful that the burden of support of the aged will be assumed by legally responsible relatives.
5. The rate of dependency in South Dakota was lower than that of the two neighboring states of Minnesota and Montana but greater than the two adjoining states of Nebraska and North Dakota.
6. The rate of dependency in South Dakota had not reached a stable level.
7. Dependency was relatively higher in the western than in the southeastern portion of the state where climatic, economic, and other conditions had resulted in a lower rate.
8. Not a single applicant for old age assistance or relief during 1932-36 has come from some of the colonies with high family and kinship solidarity, such as those of the Hutterian Brethren.

LEVEL AND COST OF LIVING

In order to depict the level of living of farm and village families in South Dakota, more than 1,875 families in six counties, representing the eight farming areas in the state, were interviewed.¹⁷

Practically every family in 25 block samples was contacted. In most cases the block samples constituted whole townships and villages, which were selected on the basis of their representativeness as determined from available census and other data.

Among the findings of the study were the following: (1) During 1935 the average annual value of living, including all goods and services consumed by the 1,101 full- and part-time farm families in the open country, was \$1,111; that consumed by the 774 village families, \$874. (2) The total value of living was correlated positively with the proportion of this living used for automobiles, clothing, health, advancement, and incidental expenditures, but negatively with

¹⁷ W. F. Kumlien, Charles P. Loomis, *et al.*, "The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935," Agricultural Experiment Station, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, *Bulletin No. 320*, Brookings, March, 1938 (pp. 63).

that used for food, housing, and maintenance. (3) In most respects increase in the size of family had the same effect upon the internal adjustments of the budget as did decrease in income or total value of living. (4) Among the higher income groups as compared with the lower, "conspicuous consumption" played a more important role in the village than in the open country in the case of expenditures for automobiles, housing and home furnishings, and clothing—this latter especially during the courtship and marriage age. (5) With families at different stages in the life cycle there was a positive correlation between the work energy available and the total value of living. (6) Seventy per cent of the open-country families had not moved between 1930 and 1935, as compared with 50 per cent of the village families. (7) The greater the number of moves recorded from 1930 to 1935, the lower the total value of living. (8) There was a remarkably high positive correlation between the number of school grades completed by both the male head and the homemaker and the value of living of the families in all tenure and residence groups.

In order to depict patterns of consumption in different economic brackets, about 10 per cent of the families in San Juan were visited. Field work resulted in 2,645 usable schedules. Some of the findings were:

1. The average size family consisted of 6.1 persons. (This was one person more than reported in the last census.)
2. The number of persons per family was larger in the higher income group.
3. Rice was the most important food in the diet of the people. There was an annual per capita consumption of rice of 132 pounds as compared to 5.4 pounds in the United States. Rice consumption was greater in the lower income families, decreasing as the family income increased. The same was true also for beans, but for such foods as milk, meat, eggs, and fruit, there was an opposite trend.
4. Although the average income of the families studied was estimated at \$1,254, approximately one-third of the families fell below the \$600 mark.
5. The latter part of the report is taken up with the presentation of figures showing the relative amounts of these principal food products that were bought at the different types of stores and markets.¹⁸

A study¹⁹ made recently of the living expenditures of 70 Negro farm families in Texas reports an average value of living of \$574 of which \$143 was furnished from the farm. Only approximately one-third of this amount was reported as allocated to food, which is extremely low for families of this income level. Evaluation of the use of the house or rent was omitted.

"Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas" is an Experiment

¹⁸ S. L. Descartes and S. Diaz Pacheco, "El Consumo de Alimentos en la Ciudad de San Juan, 1937: Consumo per Persona, Consumo y Posicon Economica, Feuentes de Abastecimiento de Frutos Monores," University of Puerto Rico, *Information Mimeograph No. 12*, Rio de Piedras, January, 1938 (pp. 21).

¹⁹ Walter R. Harrison, *A Study of the Living Expenditures of Seventy Negro Farm Families in Waller County, Texas*, Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas, 1933 (pp. 16).

Station Bulletin based upon an investigation of 322 families living in a typical Ozark community.²⁰

Average medical expenditures were \$27 per family, of which 44.8 per cent went for services of a physician; 19.9 per cent for unprescribed medicine; 17.6 per cent for prescribed medicine; 5.5 per cent for hospital services; 5.1 per cent for dental care; 4.1 per cent for practical nurses; 1.2 per cent for chiropractic services; 0.8 per cent for registered nurses; 0.5 per cent for midwives; 0.2 per cent for ambulances.

The higher the income of the family, the better the condition of health, the less the incidence of illness, and the greater the average expenditure for funerals; the less the indebtedness for health services, the greater the total expenditure for medical care, and the less the proportion of total income which went for medical care.

The family income was related more closely to these factors than was type of residence (including distance of dwelling from physician's office and whether the family lived in the village, valley upland, or mountains) or tenure and occupation. However, people who lived within one mile of a doctor used his services in a greater percentage of their illnesses and more times per case than those who lived farther away. Village families had the highest per capita incidence of disease (1.00), and mountain people the lowest, .62. Village families spent more money for prescribed medicine and upland families for unprescribed, while mountain families made the greatest use of herb remedies, had the highest indebtedness for medical care, and used the doctor's services to the least extent.

Highest proportions of stomach trouble and rheumatism were found among people of the lowest income groups. People with the highest incomes were relatively free of stomach trouble and malaria.

The infant death rate was abnormally high; of all deaths during the last five years one-fifth occurred during the first year of life. Most of these deaths occurred in the low-income, mountain, and upland families.

"Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March 1935, 59 Cities,"²¹ a Works Progress Administration investigation, reports that at a *maintenance* level, at which normal and average requirements for industrial, service, and other manual workers are supplied, a four-person family living in Washington would expend \$1,415, whereas the same family in Mobile would expend only \$1,130. These cities represent high and low cost of living extremes at the maintenance level, whereas, at the *emergency* level, which level takes into account economies which may be made under depression conditions, the highest cost was \$1,014 in Washington as compared with the lowest, \$810, in Wichita.

Among the major items included in the standard budget, food costs varied least among the cities—rent costs varied most. Among subgroups with wide cost

²⁰ Isabella C. Wilson and William H. Metzler, "Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas," University of Arkansas, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 353*, Fayetteville, April, 1938 (pp. 39).

²¹ Margaret Loomis Stecker, "Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March, 1935, Fifty-Nine Cities," Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *Research Monograph XII*, Washington, 1937 (pp. 216).

variations were those services such as refuse disposal and school attendance, which were supplied from the tax fund in some communities and not in others; also taxes, transportation, fuel, and ice varied greatly from city to city. Chief among causes for variation were geographical location and size of city.

Three hundred and fifty-seven rural relief families, and 714 of their nearest nonrelief neighbors all living in the three Colorado counties, Baca, Elbert, and Larimer, are compared in a study which was a part of a 1933 national survey.²²

As is true for the Nation, the relief heads of households engaged in agriculture were relatively more frequently farm tenants and laborers than was the case for nonrelief heads. Also the relief heads of households as compared with non-relief heads tended more frequently to be under 35 or over 54, had had more unemployment since 1920, were more mobile, had smaller farms and livestock inventories, had made less progress on the agricultural ladder, and had, for all age groups, completed fewer grades in school, and their children were more frequently retarded. The relief households consisted more frequently of broken families and contained more dependents. An analysis of the source of migrants to the three counties during the preceding three years is given.

RESETTLEMENT

To what degree of accuracy can governmental agencies use selection criteria in choosing families which will make satisfactory settlers, or tenants who will develop into good owners in the case of the Bureau of Reclamation and Farm Security Program, or creditors who will make good risks in the case of the Farm Credit Administration? There has been little experience in America to throw light upon the general problem of methods of judging entrepreneurial ability or the extent to which a family will be an asset to his community generally.

"Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project,"²³ a study involving 136 families, tests a selection technique used nine years previously. An examining board consisting of three members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior graded eligible applicants as to industry, experience, character, and capital during 1927 and 1928. Ratings were made from mailed applications and recommendations. In 1936, after nine years, the same families were again rated, this time as to success, effort, and social standing in the community. This rating was tested and found valid on the basis of field interviews made with 54 families.

Positive correlation between the combined scores for the two ratings proved that the rough initial rating scale was valid and that if large numbers of applicants had applied for homesteads, many of the unsuccessful and undesirable would have been eliminated.

Summarizing, it may be said that, of the four initial subratings, only the one on former farming experience shows a definite correlation with the quality of the selected applicants as revealed later by their activities on the homesteads. The other three show but a slight correlation. This is especially true of the subratings

²² Olaf F. Larson, "Rural Households and Dependency," Colorado State College, Colorado Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 444*, Fort Collins, May, 1938 (pp. 48).

²³ Marie Jasny, "Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project: Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California," United States Department of Agriculture, *Social Research Report No. V*, Washington, June, 1938 (multigraphed, pp. 88).

on industry and character, because of the fact that in cases of doubt high ratings were given. On the other hand, the few low ratings on these criteria later proved to be largely justified.

The selection method of the Bureau of Reclamation therefore appears to be a fairly satisfactory instrument for forecasting the future success of a prospect, provided it is used by a reasonable selection board. The board working at Tule Lake in 1927 evidently did a particularly good job in reducing the statements on former farming experience, exaggerated in many cases, to reasonable proportions.

There was no correlation between original scares and the tendency of settlers to sell out and leave. All but 48.5 per cent of the families studied did leave during the nine-year period. The study includes an analysis of the reasons for selling and leaving their homesteads, chief of which was "sale for speculation." The report contains recommendations for development of selection criteria for resettlement projects as well as suggestions for reducing the large turnover on reclamation projects.

In order that the social factors involved in a proposed scheme of resettlement might be taken into account along with the economic, field interviews were made of 147 families in a proposed evacuation area and 236 families living on farms adjoining the optioned tracts to which it was proposed that the former families be moved.²⁴ Study and comparison of these two groups enabled the authors to make constructive criticism of the proposed resettlement scheme. Regulations and proposals of the Resettlement Administration were not in keeping with the objective of raising the standards of living for the more needy families. If the aged relief families, nonfarm families with their high relief incidence, and the broken families could be provided for, the families which would be left in the proposed evacuation area would be a group of self-supporting families, clustered for the most part in successfully integrated neighborhoods. Some families were more in need of internal family adjustment than they were of farm adjustment. Resettlement would not solve their problems.

Even 25 families which, because of their present type of farm economy, would be likely to have fewer difficulties in making the adjustments in the new and more commercialized type of farms in the resettlement area, would have to make sacrifices in their nonmaterial level of living if they were moved as planned.

Community participation charts showing visiting and exchanging work relationships, as well as the location of families upon whom the interviewed families were dependent for emergency aid, indicate that quite highly integrated communities might be broken up if families were resettled on scattered holdings. This was especially true of one Bohemian community. The total value of living for the families to be resettled (excluding house rent) was \$651; that of the families living on farms bordering those to which the families would be moved, \$874.

The report should serve as a severe warning to any agency which in the future

²⁴ George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ruth O. Hill, "Man-Land Adjustment: A Study of Family and Inter-Family Aspects of Land Retirement in the Central Wisconsin Land Purchase Area," Department of Rural Sociology, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, *Research Bulletin No. 134*, Madison, February, 1938 (multigraphed, pp. 80).

attempts to resettle people without due consideration and study of the social and cultural aspects of the situation.

Three hundred families in the Beltrami Island Area in the Northern Minnesota Cut-Over absorbed \$20,000 to \$30,000 annually from public funds, above what they paid in taxes for the support of schools, roads, and relief.²⁵

These families were among those to remain after the lumber resources were exploited. Appraisers' records indicated that their cash income averaged \$317—a little less than half of which was derived from farming; also there was a 90 per cent tax delinquency. Living off the country supplied the minimum physical needs for food, clothing, and shelter. Distress was chiefly due to lack of sufficient cash income to pay for public services. Children were practically denied education beyond grade school; medical service was often not available because of distance or poor roads; and churches were not well supported.

As a result of the efforts of the Resettlement Administration and the Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, most of the families have been placed upon better soil, their financial position has been definitely improved, and they can now obtain public services which they could not afford previously.

Appraisal and purchase of the land to be developed as a forest and wild life reserve were made not on the basis of market value which often approached nil, but the saving in taxes which would be accomplished by relocating the families.

RURAL ORGANIZATION

"The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations,"²⁶ an Experiment Station Bulletin, is the first of a series of studies of its kind. It reports the results of interviews with 2,925 operators living in four counties. The number of organizations to which farmers belonged was found to be correlated positively with size of farm, assessed value of farm, permanence of residence, and grades of school completed. Whether or not a man belonged to a church was less often related to these factors than was absence or presence of membership in other organizations.

Owners belonged to more organizations than tenants. The organizations represented in the chief combinations to which the operators belong include the Church, Grange, Dairymen's League, and Farm Bureau.

In a doctor's dissertation presenting a historical treatment of four rural Catholic parishes in Nemaha County, Kansas,²⁷ is traced the development of an agricultural group, the solidarity of which is based on a common national origin as

²⁵ R. W. Murchie and C. R. Wasson, "Beltrami Island, Minnesota," University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 334*, University Farm, St. Paul, December, 1937 (pp. 48).

²⁶ W. A. Anderson, "The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations," Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, *Bulletin No. 695*, Ithaca, November, 1937 (pp. 28).

²⁷ Gilbert Francis Wolters, *A Socio-Economic Analysis of Four Rural Parishes in Nemaha County, Kansas*, Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, 1938 (printed, pp. 202).

well as a common religion. A large proportion of the parishioners were Germans who by hard work and frugality had built up prosperous farms and thriving parishes. But the 20 years following the World War witnessed marked changes in the community. Agricultural reverses and modification of the culture of the group combined to lower standards of living, particularly the nonmaterial aspects, but there are still indications of greater solidarity than is found in most rural communities, among which are: the large proportion of young people remaining in the community and on farms; the continued influence of the Catholic church and schools; and the infrequency of mixed marriages between Catholics and members of other religious groups.

"Farmers' Purchasing Associations in Wisconsin,"²⁸ in 1934 handled approximately 15 per cent of the farm supplies purchased in the state, supplies with a retail value of some \$14,000,000. The purchasing associations were classified into four main groups: petroleum, warehouse, general store, and combination associations. General farm organizations, such as the Grange, the Equity, the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, and others, sponsored such associations. In the past, mortality among these organizations was high, none of these recently organized associations has become inactive, although about 40 per cent of all associations organized since 1910 had ceased to operate in 1935. The study disclosed that local associations, in general, were weak in membership and organization work.

A study of 175 co-operative creameries located in Minnesota concludes that there are indications that they are not adjusting their organizations and operations as readily as they should to important developments which the industry has experienced in recent years.²⁹

"Cooperative Fluid-Milk Associations in Iowa,"³⁰ is a study depicting the problems, organization, and history of the co-operative marketing of milk in the state. Ten associations in the leading cities had 6,195 members in 1935. All associations have written contracts with producers. "The contracts provide a \$25 fine for each violation. Most associations, however, have had no occasion to resort to legal means of enforcing the contracts." Violations arise most often out of misunderstandings.

In addition, the following bulletins have been received:

Louise O. Bercaw and Annie M. Hannay, "Bibliography on Land Utilization, 1918-36," United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 284*, Washington: January, 1938 (pp. 1,508).

A. G. Black, Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, "Toward Farm Security,"

²⁸ Rudolph K. Froker and Joseph G. Knapp, "Farmers' Purchasing Associations in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with Co-operative Division Farm Credit Administration, *Bulletin No. 20*, Washington, October, 1937 (pp. 118).

²⁹ E. Fred Koller and O. B. Jesness, "Minnesota Cooperative Creameries," Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, *Bulletin No. 333*, University Farm, St. Paul, September, 1937 (pp. 82).

³⁰ Paul E. Quintus and T. G. Stitts, "Cooperative Fluid-Milk Associations in Iowa," Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station in co-operation with the Co-operative Division Farm Credit Administration, *Circular No. C-105*, Washington, September, 1937 (pp. 72).

- United States Department of Agriculture, *Miscellaneous Publication No. 308*, Washington: 1938 (pp. 23).
- A. L. Boynton and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Improving our Rural Civilization*, Youth Section, American Country Life Association, New York: January, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 29).
- Esther M. Colvin and Josiah C. Folsom, "Agricultural Labor in the United States, 1936-1937," United States Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Economics Bibliography No. 72*, Washington: March, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 205).
- Estimated Number of Families Owning Radio Sets in the United States, January 1, 1938*, Joint Committee on Radio Research, Washington: April, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 26).
- Don T. Gray and C. C. Randall, "Annual Report of Extension Service," Extension Service, College of Agriculture, University of Arkansas, United States Department of Agriculture co-operating, *Extension Circular No. 405*, Fayetteville, Arkansas: February, 1938 (pp. 70).
- H. B. Hawthorn, "The Culture of Sioux City Youth," Morningside College, *Research Bulletin XXI*, 3, Sioux City, Iowa: December, 1937 (pp. 24).
- "Information for Prospective Settlers in Alaska," Alaska Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Alaska, *Circular No. 1*, College, Alaska: June 15, 1937 (pp. 39).
- J. W. Jones, "Membership Relations of Cooperative Associations," Farm Credit Administration, Co-operative Division, *Bulletin No. 9*, Washington: October, 1936 (pp. 111).
- Mary G. Lacy, Librarian, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Economics Bibliography No. 1*, rev., Washington: January 1, 1938 (mimeographed, pp. 26).
- John W. Manning, "Government in Kentucky Counties," Bureau of Government Research, University of Kentucky, *Local Government Study No. 2*, Lexington: 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 54).
- Charles Frederick Reid and Nathan Habib, *Compilation of Sources of Information on the Territories and Outlying Possessions of the United States*, 3rd ed., Series A, Bibliography of Guam, sponsored by the College of the City of New York, New York: 1937 (mimeographed, pp. 37).
- J. W. Studebaker and Chester S. Williams, "Choosing Our Way," United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education, *Bulletin No. 1937, Miscellaneous Publication No. 1*, Washington: 1938 (pp. 118).

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

The Culture of Cities. By Lewis Mumford. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1938. Pp. xii, 586. \$5.00.

I like to underline the interesting passages in a book which I own. This volume has more underlining than any which I have read in many years, which is the best evidence of my estimate of its significance. It is full of challenging theses, whether you agree with them or not, and no rural sociologist who wants to get a new view of his job can afford to neglect it. It is a natural and fitting sequel to the author's *Technics and Civilization*, and with it shows the influence of Patrick Geddes, to whom he frequently refers. The book is essentially a functional analysis of the sociology of the city in relation to its cultural product.

In his introduction the author characterizes the city as the seat of civilization and states his central thesis of redirecting the structure and function of the city so that it may become the means of a richer life. The first chapter is a masterly description of the medieval city in which he shows how it originated and persisted because of its protective function. He holds that for its time it was much more efficient functionally than is the modern metropolis. Its life was dominated by the Church, and the Church was its essential nucleus. He then sketches the transitional period of the city from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries with the development of the Baroque plan under the influence of the court life of the new modern kingdoms. Then comes the rise of the industrial city of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulting from the use of coal and steam power, with its consequent effect of making the factory the controlling institution of city life. This is the paleotechnic stage of the city, "the insensate industrial town." The "Rise and Fall of Megalopolis" is a natural sequence, and the decadence of the modern metropolis is painted with deep shadows. This chapter is a veritable jeremiad against the domination of the modern metropolis by the profit motive. Although he pays high tribute to the unique contribution of the social settlement, one has the feeling that he hardly gives sufficient analysis to the structure and values of the modern city.

The heart of his argument as to the objectives which should govern city development is brought out in two chapters on "The Regional Framework of Civilization" and "The Politics of Regional Development." He visions the ideal urban civilization as a complex of cities of from 5,000 to 50,000 population functioning as cultural centers for their regions. It is a polynucleated city or cluster of communities. Unfortunately his concept of just what a region is is rather fuzzy and inexact. Evidently the region is the hinterland of the city, but with many cities in an industrial section this is a different concept from that ordinarily implied by the term region.

The last chapter on "The Social Basis of the New Urban Order" outlines his

concept of a "biotechnic economy" in which a city is planned for producing the good life of all its people rather than for the profit of the few. He sees the school as the nucleus of the future community. Although one may agree with his ideals, yet one must recognize that he presupposes a revolution in the economic order to make this possible. He brings out that the stabilization of population will put a stop to the rapid increase of the unearned increment of city land, the chief foundation of the present urban economy, and that the automobile and the extension of electric power will tend to disperse industry, but he gives no hint as to how the modern metropolis may be reorganized except by decay and rebuilding. There is but casual reference to the group life of the city, attention being focused upon its chief institutions, government, and physical plan.

The 32 plates of illustrations reveal all phases of the structure and life in the evolution of the city, and 44 pages of bibliography reveal the breadth of his research. The fundamentals of his biotechnic economy are sound and set new goals for civilization; goals which are already gripping the imagination of the people. It is a book to reread and to ponder. One cannot do it justice in a brief review.

Cornell University

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Fifth Avenue to Farm. By Frank Fritts and Ralph W. Gwinn. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938. Pp. viii, 282. \$3.00.

We Farm for a Hobby—and Make it Pay. By Henry Tetlow. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1938. Pp. xii, 200. \$2.00.

What People Said. By W. L. White. New York: The Viking Press, 1938. Pp. 614. \$2.75.

American Village. By Edwin V. Mitchell. New York: Stackpole Sons. Pp. 261. \$3.00.

Mabel Tarner. By Harry Kemp. New York: Lee Furman, Inc., 1936. Pp. 352. \$2.50.

Rural sociology has an existence of its own entirely separate from any academic discipline. This is in answer to the rural economist who is addicted to lifting his eyebrows and inquiring, "What is rural sociology?" *Fifth Avenue to Farm* repeats one of the constant themes of the discipline which is to be found earlier not only in Lapouge's *Les Sélections Sociales* and George Hansen's *Die Drei Bevölkerungsstufen*, but in many other works. The theory is that a city civilization exhausts the demographic and spiritual reserves of a land folk until the culture no longer can sustain itself. Lapouge and Hansen use this theory to explain the rising and falling of cultures long before Oswald Spengler made a sophisticated version of it into a best seller. Fritts and Gwinn, however, use the idea as a plea for social action in contemporary America to preserve the "genetic integrity of our country's future." Unless some "mode of life congenial to the instinct to breed" shall be developed and preserved in American life, "the society will, after a few gener-

ations, cease to contain any substantial number of persons of high innate capacity for the practices of our high civilization."

We Farm for a Hobby is also a sensible, practical book challenging to rural sociologists, farm economists, and others seeking an answer to the present stagnation (*stockungsspannen*) in American culture. Tetlow moved to a Pennsylvania farm (submarginal land) to farm for a hobby but "made it pay." He concludes "it's the life." His best critical chapter on "pitfalls of accountancy" should be required reading for all budget or farm management investigators. This is particularly important also for students of part-time and "subsistence" farming. The author should be a member of the society so hungry brother members could drop by and sample his fare of ham, scrapple, and souse.

What People Said, by the son of William Allen White, is Kansas, Emporia, and the American mind condensed into a semi-autobiographical study. It is a good yarn based upon actual incidents in Kansas. Its best scene is Emporia on Sunday afternoon, but its greatest contribution is the analysis of the popular mind in a commercial agrarian culture. This mind, full of delusions, works comfortably until a crisis comes, and then a vague public opinion becomes almost vindictive in its blind reaction to the destruction of everything which symbolizes "error." In the book this works out in the 30-year sentence in the penitentiary for Lee Norssex by the Governor, although the judge had promised only 15 years for a plea of "guilty."

American Village, by the author of *The Horse and Buggy Age in New England*, is a charming discussion of early rural Americana, including inns, taverns, stores, barber shops, tap rooms, railway depots, apothecary shops, grist mills, blacksmith shops, early silverware, and rare furniture. It is finely illustrated from pictures taken at Henry Ford's Dearborn Museum in Greenfield village. Its best chapters are on the school and the home, particularly the kitchen. "America won its fight for independence without the aid of spinach" (or love apples—e.g., tomatoes). The kitchen stove, an early American utensil, was the subject of nearly 400 patents "between 1812 and 1847." The book has a bias toward New England and the Northeast and omits much that took place in the South and West. As a result biscuits, stage coaches, tobacco chewing and corn whiskey do not receive their fair share of attention. If, as the author says, "Time is a subject lying so very much at the mercy of physicists and philosophers lately that some people are actually beginning to speak disrespectfully of it," one might also chide the author that Americana is greater than Henry Ford's museum collection. Nevertheless a beautiful presentation and the general prevalence of the Yankee tradition in all our inchoate culture make this work extremely worth while for living room, workshop, or class reading.

The first four books are recommended highly for careful reading in rural sociology. *Mabel Turner* unfortunately does not strike fire, although Kemp has done a previous book (*Tramping on Life*) which is worth while. *Mabel Turner* was sent to two reviewers who rejected it. It is listed here for informational purposes.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

The Ohio Gateway. By D. E. Crouse. New York: Scribners, 1938. Pp. xvi, 146. \$3.00.

R.F.D. By Charles Allen Smart. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1938. Pp. 314. \$2.50.

Mr. Crouse's book is an artistic labor of love in 24 brief chapters, with a competent bibliography, index, and 25 interesting full-page drawings by the author. It relates Ohio's history from geological times down to about 1850, when the railroad completed the process begun a century before with trail, river, steam-boat, and canal. By 1840, the state had a million and a half people and the "Gateway to the West" was safely and widely open. It is a moving essay and a beautiful book.

In a somewhat romanticized, chatty but serious, smart, sophisticated manner, *R.F.D.* presents the problem of the "immigrant farmer"—the urbanite who has gone to the country to find a new way of life. Smart makes it clear that he is no farmer, although as a boy he spent many summers on the farm where he now lives. Thus, he was not a complete urban-alien when he returned "home"; still, after three years on the farm he is far from being "assimilated"; this assimilation he thinks will take all of 30 or 40 years, and may not even then be complete. He calls his farming experience an adventure in the "wilds of Ohio"; he speaks of "savants"; he tells of milking in a quart cup; he admits that he can't plow or run a corn-planter; he boasts of keeping cocker spaniels and states a desire to become a dog breeder; he calls himself a radical who feels guilty at taking income for the mere act of owning; and says that his hatred of war keeps him from becoming a hunter. He is an intellectual and he is proud of it. He holds that in order to make a start, an "immigrant farmer" should have a specialty yielding cash income, or else should have several thousand dollars in cash. He started with the cash; along with two farms he inherited several thousand dollars in gilt-edged securities, and he apparently abets this with money he makes from writing. (The first printing of *R.F.D.* was 100,000 copies.)

Despite his arty "talking down," Smart has a fundamental respect for the soil and the animals which it supports, including men both on and off the land. He gives four main principles for the self-sufficient farm: conserve the land, buy little, sell little, and (somewhat debatable, he says) practice co-operative buying and selling. There is a moving description of the farm co-operative and the relative unconsciousness of the farmers that they are striking at the very foundations of our economic system. He thinks the "business class" sees this and hates and fears co-operation. Sooner or later the farmers will see it also. The safety of American democracy is largely in the hands of the farmers: they have a deep feeling for the dignity of man and work; they resent all forms of crop limitation and paternalistic assistance; they hate dictation from any source.

I believe Smart thinks the "immigrant farmer" will be a great aid to the "dirt" farmer in achieving a more articulate understanding of the larger social implications of farming and in adding graciousness and beauty to the dignity and integrity of farm life. He may be right, but it is doubtful whether real farmers

ever will learn much from arty, romantic urbanites; nor will most of the latter learn as much from farmers as Smart appears to have done. However, if the "immigrant farmers" have any children, they may learn as much as Smart.

Miami University

READ BAIN

The Family and the Depression. By Ruth S. Cavan and Katherine H. Ranck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. xiii, 208. \$2.50.

This study, the joint work of a sociologist, Cavan, and a psychiatric social worker, Ranck, lends some illumination to the current obscurity of our knowledge concerning the effects of the depression upon the family. Based on the experiences of 100 families for whom detailed records were kept prior to 1929 by the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, it attempts to discover, by means of special interviews in 1934-35, the nature of their reaction to the impact of the depression. Its procedure may be subdivided conveniently into three stages. The first is devoted to an analysis of the personnel and integration of the family before the onslaught of the depression, as recorded by the Institute for Juvenile Research. The second attempts to reveal the manner in which the loss of employment or income modified the prevailing roles, ambitions, and way of life. The third and final phase is a consideration of the various forms, i.e., adjustment, disintegration, or evasion, taken in the resolution of the crisis. This chronological treatment of the main problem is supplemented by three disjointed chapters of more questionable value containing fragmentary surveys of attitudes toward the depression, relief agencies, and social reform, of young people of marriageable age in the depression, and of the depression and mobility. The work is terminated with a brief description of other depression studies and a comparison of their findings with the ones reached in this investigation.

Assuming that the 100 cases constituting the sample were typical, the size of the number would still limit the study to indicative rather than conclusive findings. However, a few significant points seem beyond doubt. The well-organized families encountered the depression with less disastrous results than those already disorganized. The families responded to the depression in essentially the same fashion as they had to previous emergencies. The nonadjustment immediately succeeding the crisis was ordinarily followed by a period of either adjustment or maladjustment. In brief, the relationships of the members of the family to one another somewhat determined the family's pattern of reaction to the depression. But this study did not attempt an analysis of the structure of family relationships, and this unexplored sector still remains a barrier to further advancement in the discovery of the effects of the depression upon the family.

Harvard University

HOMER L. HITT

Social Thought from Lore to Science: A History and Interpretation of Man's Ideas about Life with His Fellows. Vol. I. By Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1938. Pp. xxiv, 790, lxxxiv. \$5.00.

Writing 18 years ago, one of the authors of this volume, Harry Elmer Barnes,

states that "since the beginning of the present century historical sociology has been the least thoroughly and adequately cultivated of the various fields of sociology." He then goes on to say, "Yet, without a sound knowledge of the genesis of the various forms of human culture and the leading social institutions there can be no complete understanding of contemporary life and problems." In the interim of 18 years, both Mr. Barnes and Mr. Becker have contributed articles and books that have aided in a more thorough cultivation of this field. Now they present one of the most brilliant contributions to a sound knowledge of historical sociology.

There are three things concerning Volume I of this two-volume work about which I wish to comment. First, the content. Beginning with the social ideas of preliterate peoples, the authors conduct the reader across the ancient Far East, the Ancient Near East, then through the Greco-Roman world, the Christian philosophy, down through the middle centuries, Secularism and Humanism, through the rise of conceptions of progress, through the rise of the social sciences, then sociology in particular, and finally through some present-day conceptions of sociology. Historical processes are generated by ideas that result in movements which find expression through men. This study of sociological thought seems not to have omitted any of the basic ideas that were potent, nor does it slight the movements that result. Also, the chief exponents of the ideas are considered. It is truly a fascinating journey through a vast body of sociological material interpreted in present-day sociological conceptions. Second, the style. The presentation of such a body of material could easily have been dull. And perhaps this is one reason why many persons do not study the antecedents of our present social thinking. However, this volume is interestingly written. Third, the notes. Most books add references in the form of general bibliographies. Barnes and Becker incorporate specific notes expanding and elucidating the main ideas presented and then suggest specific references for further study of the ideas. There results an accumulation of reference material from journals, books, and other sources that will stimulate and aid this further study. In other words, this volume is not only a comprehensive treatment of historical sociology itself, but becomes an important source book for further study. Sociologists and social scientists will be grateful to the authors for this volume.

Cornell University

W. A. ANDERSON

Social Thought from Lore to Science. Volume II. By Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1938. Pp. viii, 385, lxvi (Notes). \$4.50.

Unrestricted by any self-imposed limitations of time and space, Messrs. Barnes and Becker have encompassed within their two volumes one of the most sweeping surveys of social thought yet to appear. The second volume of *Social Thought from Lore to Science* attempts broadly to characterize developments since the time of Spencer, as well as the present status of sociology in more than 30 countries. Those who are weary of prolixity in the social sciences can see at

once that in assuming such universality of scope the authors have forestalled all likelihood of supererogation.

A brief review does not suffice to indicate the contents of the work, but it may be said that many teachers of sociology will feel indebted to the authors for having brought together between the covers of one book what is at least a running commentary on a great mass of material not easily accessible to the average student. Volume II mentions in a general way many developments which are entirely unknown to any except specialists. Likewise, the notes will serve as a guide for American readers to secondary and source material on the neglected contemporary sociologists of Eastern Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, Latin America, and the Orient. In many instances one gets scarcely more than a tag for a theorist or a school, and for some of the countries little more than a few sentences. Yet in a treatise which bears the subtitle "Sociological Trends Throughout the World" one could not expect a very exhaustive delineation of particulars. Enthusiastic undergraduates and the general reader, however, will gain a modicum of knowledge about a large number of names and trends, and the presumption of a survey course (for which the book was apparently designed) is that an offhand knowledge is better than none at all.

Scholars will find the chapters on French and German sociology to be the most satisfactory, though they may be somewhat perturbed on the whole by the Baedeker-like journey over much of the geography of social thought. The chapter on "Sociology in the United States" contains single paragraph summaries of the trends in social psychology, quantitative methods, human ecology, social pathology, etc., and for good measure throws in short descriptions of leading departments in the country. Like many of the others, this section is rather summarily strewn with a wide variety of names and movements.

To agree with Mr. Jerome Davis (Introductory Note) that the volumes are a "brilliant and comprehensive treatment of social thought" is perhaps optative, for any endeavor to combine the qualities of an atlas, an historical compendium, an annotated bibliography, and a critical analysis, necessarily leaves much to be desired in the way of thoroughness. An awareness of these difficulties is expressed by the writers in the preface: "Oftentimes we have looked problems boldly in the face and passed on, 'feeling that the specialist who is kindly disposed toward our venture will give us the benefit of the doubt.'" At any rate, the authors deserve credit for the temerity and facility with which they approached their difficult task. *Social Thought from Lore to Science* is written in an easy, familiar style uncommon in sociological treatises, and the work has many original and practical features. Regardless of their various shortcomings, these volumes will be useful in any library and certainly are worth investigating for textbook purposes.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

Newcomers and Nomads in California. By William T. Cross and Dorothy Embry Cross. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1937. Pp. ix, 149. \$1.50.

Technology, Corporations, and the General Welfare. By Henry A. Wallace. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. 83. \$1.00.

Wage and Hour Legislation for the South. By H. M. Douty. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. 26. \$.15.

Man and Society. Edited by Emerson P. Schmidt. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv, 805. \$3.75.

The little volume by the Crosses contains much of interest to the rural sociologist. Utilizing a wide variety of methods and materials, this study throws much light upon the problems which have arisen on the receiving end of the depression and drought-forced migration. Charts are included which show clearly that California's native white population has been recruited from the corn-belt, while the recent influx of "crowded-out," homeless wanderers came most largely from the neighboring states of Arizona and Oregon, Washington, drought-stricken Texas and Oklahoma, and far-away New York. Little Connecticut and Massachusetts contributed as heavily as any southeastern state. Rather careful descriptions of the various emergency agencies used by the state and federal government are also of interest. A lengthy bibliography is a valuable appendage to the work.

Three short essays, "The Impact of Technology," "The Impact of Corporations," and "Government and the General Welfare," make up the volume by Mr. Wallace. In it he sets forth his belief in "the possibility of developing an ever more powerful technology, directed more definitely towards the conservation of human and natural resources by a new type of corporation, a new type of labor union, and a new type of farm organization. . . ." The rural sociologist will challenge the theory of economic determinism implicit in the book. Many others should doubt the wisdom of dismissing, in an essay devoted to the General Welfare, such important agencies as W.P.A., P.W.A., C.C.C., and Resettlement, with statements about amounts spent; where the money went; that it was used for soil, dams, and roads; and references to wealthy business men, cutting expenditures, reducing income taxes, and reducing expenditures.

The pamphlet by Douty, the ninth in a series of *Southern Policy Papers*, attacks the problem: "What can be done to attain fair minimum standards in southern industry?" It recommends shorter hours, better enforcement of labor legislation, and most of all, the passing by states of minimum wage legislation.

Those rural sociologists who have a responsibility for the elementary social science course may find Schmidt's work of considerable value. Specialists from the various social sciences have contributed chapters. Besides Schmidt, the contributors include: E. D. Monachesi, J. O. Hertzler, W. D. Wallis, Herbert Blumer, H. P. Longstaff, George B. Vold, L. D. Steefel, R. A. Hartshorne, E. L. Kirkpatrick, Joseph R. Starr, Richard L. Kozelka, and Mary J. Shaw.

Scholastic, Economic, and Social Background of Unemployed Youth. By Walter T. Dearborn and John W. M. Rothney. Harvard Bulletins in Education, No. 20. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938. Pp. xi, 172. \$1.50.

This valuable study is in reality an examination of the employment status of 1,360 young people of both sexes whose chronological ages in November, 1935, averaged about 21 years, in relation to their personality ratings, their educational attainment, ranking in school, general intelligence test scores, school activities, and other criteria by which success in school is commonly measured. The youth were selected from the cases upon which background information was available through the Harvard Growth Study, begun in 1922 and continued for 12 years in two Massachusetts cities. The study included detailed measurements taken at regular intervals, careful records of school marks, tardiness, year of leaving school, and specific personality traits on the other hand. These background data were used in interpreting information obtained by questionnaires which were filled out by 1,360 youth of the 1,540 to whom they were sent. The questionnaire covered 16 general topics: Employment status, means used in trying to obtain employment, schooling, occupational training, future occupational plans, means used in obtaining employment (for persons employed), present position (for employed), employment experience, salary level (for employed), acceptable salary to change position, attitude toward employment (for employed), lowest acceptable salary (unemployed) attitude toward unemployment (for unemployed), previous training, attitude toward existing economic conditions, and attitude toward education.

The findings are surprising, almost startling. School attainment below the college level as measured by teachers' marks, regularity of attendance, grade attainment, etc., bore little relation to future success in obtaining employment, especially during the depression. The young people commonly attempted to enter occupations for which they were potentially unfitted. Furthermore, leadership in extracurricular activities availed little in gaining employment on leaving school. The boy or girl who worked part-time while in school had more success finding employment afterwards. Boys who graduated were more successful in finding jobs than nongraduates, but with the girls graduation made no difference.

The conclusions tend to confirm the position that keeping youth in school is not going to solve the unemployment problem among them. A brief résumé of the literature bearing on the topics studied is given.

Works Progress Administration

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Dynamic Causes of Juvenile Crime. By N. D. M. Hirsch. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1937. Pp. 250. \$3.25.

This reports a clinical study of 604 juvenile delinquents (about 90 per cent of whom were recidivists) examined by the Wayne County Clinic for Child Study, an affiliate of the Juvenile Court of Wayne County, Michigan. The first three chapters consider briefly the etiological categories in delinquency, recent studies of youthful offenders, and clinical procedures adopted in this research. The

author emphasizes particularly the work of the Gluecks. Working independently of each other, three psychologists (one of whom was Dr. Hirsch) studied the case material gathered by the clinicians, analyzing the summaries and interpretations of the psychologist, psychiatrist, and social worker in each of the 604 cases. The investigators

limited the major causal factors in each case to four with a possible minimum of one major cause. . . . Ten causal points were allotted to each delinquent. The analysis then was one of accounting for 6040 points. If the psychologist found only one real etiological factor involved it was counted ten points. If the maximum of our causal factors were involved, the primary factor was accorded four points, the secondary three points, the next in significance two points, and the least forceful one point. Determining the average of the three psychologists' analysis and making a compilation of their judgments upon the 604 individuals were the final steps in the procedure.

This "quasi-quantitative" analytical summary of factors attempts to ascertain, and then list in order of their assumed significance, one primary factor per delinquent case, and also several supplementary minor factors.

The major causes of juvenile delinquency are discovered to be: defective intelligence; instability; immaturity; hypersuggestibility; psychopathic personality; constitutional inferiority; ego-centric, hyperaggressive and quasi-paranoid personality; emotional conflicts; inferiority complexes; endocrine-dysbalance; and the questionable factor of home conditions (p. 238).

The broken home and other environmental factors are minimized etiological forces. Hirsch's study indicates a number of highly probable causative factors in delinquency; consequently, it has a distinct significance as a contribution to the study of criminogenesis. It is unlikely, however, that Hirsch's method of rating single factors on the basis of their frequency as primary, secondary, or tertiary factors in individual cases will bring criminologists close to their goal. No factor is fully understandable when it is considered in isolation from the configuration of associated, intimately interrelated elements which form a complex whole. The study of patterns of factors, of types of causal complexes, which may be discovered to recur in great numbers of individual cases, still remains to be developed by criminologists who are engaged in the study of causes of crime. The individual case material presented (116-235) is of distinct value. Furthermore, the author has devoted particular attention to the "enuretic delinquent," and his observations upon this topic merit careful consideration by those concerned with the treatment of a number of youthful offenders.

This thoughtful work and the attitude of science which is evident in his research are to be commended; unfortunately, however, there are a number of indications that the proofreading was very poorly done. Many simple words are misspelled; (e.g., "there" for "these," p. 14, line 24; "Grumberg" for "Grimberg," p. 29, last line; "existant" for "existent," p. 34, line 22).

Country Men. By James Hearst. Muscatine, Iowa: The Prairie Press, 1937. \$2.00.

Country Men is a slight volume. It will entertain the rural sociologist who likes fresh descriptions of familiar things. It contains orthodox poems of drought, frost, spring, and love; poems with a philosophical tinge; occasional verses that border on the platitudinous. Behind the bursting of crocus buds and the mowing of the clover, the Iowa farmer goes about his chores. Daily he "fights his way into the steaming barnyard," works "the fields his father sowed," comes in to his "porkpotatoesgravybread and butter," and goes to bed "bound to his wife where ashes of beauty still smoulder." When he dies, his neighbors say of him that "his fields were clean and his fences straight."

James Hearst has done more, however, than phrase a few arresting images; he has struck here and there upon the human soundness of country life. Here perhaps lies the real significance to the sociologist of this volume and others of a similar nature: it shows a recent attempt of some poets at a saner estimate of rural living. The pantheism of Wordsworth and his long line of followers is generally outworn. Poets no longer hope for popular credence if they attribute rural morals merely to a sunset, or rural religion merely to a clod of earth. The cult of the rural, like that of the primitive, has burned many of its shrines. At the same time, most soil poems have ceased to be narrowly mechanistic; there was the untruth of exaggeration in the amoral concept of the farmer chained to the rhythm of the crops and the fatalities of the weather. The modern bard of the country is, on the whole, seeking truth, not hyperbole in either its romantic or its realistic mould.

In line with this tendency, James Hearst does not try to sing among the stars or to wallow in the earth. Like others of his time, he is not completely immersed in the effect of nature upon man and of man upon nature, but seems to feel that country life is what it is partly because of the close and simple relations between man and man. He presents no grandiose ethical scheme, no drama of the colossal impact of one human being on another. But he suggests the strength of the closely-knit, landed family in contrast to the wan "parade of the landless, the tenants, the dispossessed," driving away in the snow "until only chairlegs point from the skyline." As the keynote of his poetry, he appears to substitute the stolidity of rural relationships for the earlier religion of fatalism of the soil; and this is reminiscent of what a modern critic has called the "neighborliness" of Robert Frost. A poetry of the land may have new vigor if it is to be based upon the moral dignity of good fences making good neighbors, the homely companionship of friendly visits over stone walls, and the serene permanence of the rural home.

New Jersey College for Women
Rutgers University

JOHN WINCHELL RILEY, JR.

William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands. By E. M. Coulter. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. vii, 432. \$3.50.

This book is a fascinating portrayal of some important aspects of life among

the highlanders of East Tennessee from the 1820's through the days of Reconstruction. Brownlow began his career with ten years as circuit rider. Defending Methodism, and attacking Presbyterians and Baptists, he developed an incredibly vitriolic vocabulary which the folk came in large numbers to hear. His main talent, he truly said, consisted in "piling up one epithet on another."

Turning to frontier journalism he was successful for the reasons that made him outstanding in religious controversy—his capacity for vilification, vulgar and intemperate language, and unremitting pugnacity. Opening his arguments by the wildest *ad hominem* attacks and lowest innuendos, he clinched them by such "statistics" as those with which he indicated the Catholics, who, he charged, had killed 68 million human beings in the course of history "for no other offense than that of being Protestants." If one were to "average each person slain at four gallons of blood . . . it makes 272 millions of gallons!—enough to overflow the banks of the Mississippi and destroy all the cotton and sugar plantations in Mississippi and Louisiana." He was a curious mixture of inconsistencies. While most frontier preachers opposed slavery, Brownlow defended it. Yet he was one of the most influential Unionists in East Tennessee, whipped up the fury of the North by his cries for the extermination, if necessary, of "every man, woman, and child south of Mason and Dixon's Line," and served as one of the harshest of the Reconstruction governors. Though he hated Negroes—except in slavery—and defended planters against the abolitionists, he forced his state to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and maintained his power by organizing Negro voters, and by prolonging the disfranchisement of the white rebels. He disliked Northerners, but was a steadfast Unionist, and encouraged Northern carpetbaggers to help him rule his state.

Brownlow was an unbalanced personality, yet he cut a big figure in his section and in the nation during critical decades of our history. Although employing the techniques of an historian with vivid literary quality, Coulter understands the political, religious, and class alignments in which sociologists are interested. Through the biography of an erratic figure of history he gives us insight into the kind of leadership which disturbed conditions may throw to the top in southern middle-class communities, and something of the background of those poor folk who have migrated from Tennessee west to Oklahoma, and are now pushing on under scourge of drought to the west coast. These modern leaders and migratory folk he does not mention, but they are revealed in the delineation of their cultural ancestors.

University of California

PAUL S. TAYLOR

L'Espansione degli Slavi. By Haskell Sonnabend. Roma: Comitato Italiano per lo Studio dei Problemi della Popolazione, Serie I, Vol. I, anno 9, 1931. Pp. 239.

Dr. Sonnabend has covered the expansion of the Slavs in a systematic manner, drawing upon materials from many related fields of learning including linguistics, physical anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and history. In his use of these media he has given evidence not only of extensive research, but also of an excel-

lent understanding of the aims, techniques, and problems of the several disciplines. The Slavs are Satem-speaking Indo-Europeans, whose mother speech may have been preserved intact as late as the Christian Era. Linguistic research indicates that they had early and important cultural contacts with the Germans, the Iranian steppe peoples, and the forest-dwelling Finns. From the racial standpoint, the original united Slavs were almost certainly Nordics. It is impossible to identify them with any specific archaeological horizon, but there can be little doubt that they were descended from the Bronze Age cremating peoples of eastern Central Europe. From the ethnological standpoint, they seem to have preserved much of the simple peasant culture of the Neolithic Danubians, the first food-producing invaders of Eastern and Central Europe. Their ethnic cradle, which cannot be located with accuracy, probably lay somewhere in the lowlands between the Carpathians and the Pripet swamps, and between the Vistula and the Dnieper.

The major Slavic expansion was a gradual, peaceful process, brought about by a combination of biological, social, and environmental forces. The Slavs formed, at their period of initial expansion, a homogeneous group of primitive farmers at a stage of social nondifferentiation. Demographic increase under these circumstances, leads to a slow infiltration of a growing population over lands capable of cultivation. It may be contrasted with the more spectacular and less permanent system of invasion followed by the Asiatic peoples, such as the Huns, Avars, and Mongols. The Southern Slavs, cut off from their kinsmen by these Asiatic inroads, themselves took the rôle of rapid conquerors, with the result that the Slavic-speaking peoples of the Adriatic lands and Balkans are racially Dinarics, for the Slavic type was soon submerged by that of the autochthones. The Western Slavs, on the other hand, expanded into a Germany left nearly empty after the passage of the *Völkerwanderung* tribes. Their settlement was followed by an eastward thrust of Germanization which was linguistic and cultural rather than racial. This German *Drang nach Osten* brought a German and Jewish bourgeoisie into Poland, while the peasants remained Slavic. Owing to the social disunity of this system, Poland was easily partitioned. The Eastern Slavs, including the Great Russians, White Russians, and Ukrainians, expanded into the vast Russian plain, which they peopled. In the twelfth century the Great Russians moved into the Volga and Oka basins, where they absorbed whole tribes of Finns, and this Finnish amalgamation was the greatest single influence to affect the Great Russians during their entire history. Later they acquired their Mongoloid racial increment, during the Russian counter expansion onto the Tatar steppes, and not during the period of Tatar domination, for the Tatars never settled as agriculturalists in any numbers. Slavic expansion westward is halted by the civilizing force which produces a lessening of ethnic vitality; the expansion eastward, however, meets no such inhibiting influence, and has not yet ended.

Harvard University

CARLETON S. COON

The Wasted Land. By Gerald W. Johnson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. vi, 110. \$1.50.

This small volume is essentially a commentary on *Southern Regions of the United States*, as the author points out in his foreword, but it is much more than a brief popular summary of the larger factual study. The author draws many inferences of his own and organizes and states them in such a convincing way that *The Wasted Land* makes a definite contribution of its own to the literature of the South and its problems.

The author points out that the South has the three natural advantages which facilitate production of a great civilization, namely, (1) a fertile soil, (2) a long growing season, and (3) abundant rainfall, and that it compares very favorably with other regions in the United States in natural resources. In spite of these and large human resources the South is the poorest of any of them. Why? The author explains the anomaly in one word—waste—waste of men, and waste of money, land, time, and opportunity. Waste has occurred because through a faulty one-crop economy, the human and physical resources have not been used most effectively, with the result that much of the soil and its nutrients have been washed away and hundreds of thousands of young people have migrated to other areas.

In spite of the many discouraging aspects of the future, including the probable complete wreck of the cotton economy and serious weaknesses in statecraft, the author hopefully points to what he considers a satisfactory answer to the South's problems—regionalism. He argues that if the South could think regionally, "all of its other problems would be solved with an ease that would astonish the world." His urgent appeal for regionalism is based on the belief that the Southwest needs some central directing authority to collect the many forces and agencies it has already in the field and set them all pulling in the same direction.

To accomplish this will require a reconsideration of the place of the South in the national economy, and concerted efforts to plan the use of the region as a whole to bring about a sense of stability, satisfactory standards of living, and an effective culture particularly adapted to the area. It will require a tremendous educational program to get the people of the South to take a proper inventory that is needed of themselves and their resources and to develop the necessary attitudes to accomplish balanced adjustments in the region. It will take years of writing, talking, discussing, arguing. *The Wasted Land*, through its popularization of important facts and ideas and its courageous attacks upon the basic issues confronting the South, is a beginning step in the necessary educational program. Whether the educational work can be sufficiently thorough to enable the South to present a united front remains to be seen. But if such a united way of thinking could be developed, the South would be able to solve most of its own problems. In those matters in which it would be necessary to secure national legislation or national programs, this united front would insure the South of more nearly accomplishing its goals in competition with other areas.

Montana State College

R. R. RENNE

Marriage in the Lutheran Church. By Gerhard E. Lenski. Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1936. Pp. 377. \$2.50.

The Happy Family. By L. H. Schuh. Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1929. Pp. 203. \$1.25.

Lenski's book, *Marriage in the Lutheran Church*, will be of value to all sociologists who are interested in the history and development of the mores and institutions clustered about the family. Although written by a churchman who intends to draw his moral from pointing out historical trends, it nonetheless gives a faithful portrayal of the conception of marriage held by Lutherans today and of the historical factors which have been most influential in the definition of that conception. Inasmuch as the moral ideas, as well as the crystallized dogmas, of all Protestant sects since the Reformation have been influenced by the philosophy of Luther, this book reflects more or less of the attitude of all non-Catholic peoples in the Western world. This is particularly true of the reaction against papal and clerical control which resulted in the secularization of marriage and of the reaction against asceticism and celibacy in the clergy. Of course formulations of this kind have to be taken as representatives of ideal types, in Max Weber's sense, since departures from the moral norms are probably more numerous than are observances. Thus it is one problem to sketch the norm and another to demonstrate its effectiveness in everyday conduct. The former is Lenski's primary task in this work.

In Schuh's book the moralizing element is stronger and the historical elements are weaker; the result is a book of much less value to sociologists, unless the book itself is to be taken as an object lesson.

Harvard University and Colgate

WENDELL H. BASH

Economic Backgrounds of the Relief Problem. By J. P. Watson. Pittsburgh: Bureau of Business Research, University of Pittsburgh, 1937. Pp. xiii, 144. \$2.00.

This monograph was undertaken as part of a larger social survey of Pittsburgh under the direction of Dr. Phillip Klein of the New York School of Social Work with a grant-in-aid of the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh. The author, a member of the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Pittsburgh, extended the study to its present form. Standard statistical procedures are skillfully employed throughout. The scope of the work includes conditions in the peak year 1929 and the subsequent years of depression. The author concludes that

only about four-tenths of the people are commercially employable, in terms of the ordinary economic experience reflected by the census. In fact, that proportion is reached only by the inclusion of part-time workers and children. In other words, six-tenths or more of the people, judged by the ordinary economic experience, are not commercially employable. Large numbers of these unemployable people do not have family attachments giving them access to economic goods and services through breadwinners. . . . Conse-

quently, it is always necessary that purchasing power be distributed by non-commercial methods to unemployable people without attachment to workers.

Without any substantiating evidence the author makes the generalization that the only means of accomplishing this noncommercial distribution is through some form of public relief. May it not be that other social institutions and groups may provide, at least in part, some of the necessities of life?

It is unfortunate that the author chose to employ the census definition of the family to examine its role in the provision of security. This concept of the family as those related by blood, marriage, or adoption *dwelling in the same household* falls far short of constituting an adequate analytical tool for this problem. The psychosocial kinship group offers a more realistic basis for studying the role of the family as an extra-governmental institution in the attainment of social security. Similarly, the community is more than a mechanical administrative relief unit, or political area. Hence, we are dubious in accepting the conclusion of the author that the only supplement to our commercial system is public relief.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN H. USEEM

New Mexico's Own Chronicle: Three Races in the Writings of Four Hundred Years. By Maurice Garland Fulton and Paul Horgan. Dallas, Texas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1937. Pp. 372. \$4.00.

This book, which is a collection of interesting early documents on life in New Mexico, is more history than sociology, but it contains valuable data for sociologists interested in understanding the early civilization of the southwestern frontier. The authors could have increased the value of the book for the sociologists had they included more data on the social habits, customs, and traditions of these people. They give more credit to the contribution of the Spanish-speaking people of this southwestern territory than do most authors writing the early history of this region. The Spaniards came seeking gold but always brought their priests with them so that they could conquer the new territory in the name of the church. These priests built churches that have influenced the institutional and personal life of the people of New Mexico. Many thrilling adventures are told in describing the early conquest of the Spaniards and later of the Mexicans in this area. Then came the problem of taming the Indians and the wilder desperadoes who infested this area. The development of the large estates into ranchos with their *vaqueros* gave many interesting chapters. The cattle trails and the stage coaches played their part in the development of this territory. Certain individuals gained control of the water rights of the state and thus control all the ranch lands surrounding these water holes so as to make a serious land concentration problem in New Mexico lasting even to the present day. This is discussed in an interesting manner by these authors. The Civil War period, the development of railroads, the natural resources and later of agriculture, especially in the eastern part of the state, are other important topics of discussion. The problem of New Mexico at the present time, according to the authors, is the development of the new civili-

zation alongside the old, or the Spanish, civilization which has changed very little in recent years.

Texas A. & M. College

DANIEL RUSSELL

Social and Cultural Dynamics, Vol. III. By Pitirim A. Sorokin. New York: American Book Co., 1937. Pp. xvii, 539. \$6.00.

This book has been reviewed several times already, and little more can be done in the way of expounding its contents. Suffice it to say that Sorokin has made use of a kind of quantitative method in the effort to demonstrate that "external and internal disturbances," more commonly called wars and revolutions, have fluctuated markedly throughout the era of recorded history, and that all science points to an increase rather than a diminution of conflict in the near future. Whatever may be the detailed criticism of Sorokin's use of quantitative method, it is beyond question that the evidence assembled goes far to bear out the main points. The school of Progress and "Sweetness and Light" has here encountered a stumbling block that it will not easily remove from its path.

A word or two about current criticisms of the work seems apropos. Sorokin has been taken to task for his vituperative vocabulary, but the critics have been even more vituperative; for example, they have roundly damned him with that current term denoting everything iniquitous, "Fascist." No one who has read Sorokin's treatise with his blood concentrated in his head rather than his abdomen could make such an error. Sorokin is an absolute opponent of totalitarian régimes of every kind; the ideal he upholds is that of patriarchal familism. Authority under such a system is concentrated in small communal groups, akin to the village community analyzed by Sir Henry Sumner Maine. Local autonomy is a prime requisite, and the type of social control in force has little connection with the far-reaching rational domination absolutely necessary in a totalitarian order. Again, Sorokin has been accused of sadism, i.e., that he revels in the prospect of an increase in cruelty and bloodshed. This is arrant nonsense; the value-judgments that do incontestably pervade the work derive fundamentally from an essentially kind and humane attitude—which, however, has little in common with modern "humanitarianism."

The present reviewer, did space permit, would take issue with Sorokin on many points of methodology, and he does wish that a little more caution and self-control were apparent. It is not wise to be a berserker when confronted by long-range snipers. In fairness to a much-abused man, however, the writer here lays down his pen.

University of Wisconsin

HOWARD BECKER

Isolated Communities: A Study of a Labrador Fishing Village. By Oscar Walde-mar Junek. New York: American Book Company, 1937. Pp. xxiv, 132. \$2.50.

Explicitly, the purpose of this study is to determine to what extent the mode of life in a typical isolated fishing village is to be regarded as a folk system

(culture) and to what part of this same system the term "city system" (civilization) may be applied. A folk is distinguished from a nationality group in terms of (1) greater isolation (2) unsophisticated forms of oral expression, (3) comparative lack of group consciousness, and (4) common uniform attitudes toward objects and symbols. The principal conclusion is that an isolated people living in a physical milieu hostile to the necessary conditions of their existence adopt the material traits of city culture which reach them when such traits serve their purposes more adequately than tools of their own making without necessarily affecting their existing beliefs.

The study sets up occasional points of tangency between the western city culture pattern and that of the folk system studied. It does not explain adequately the origins and sources or the extent of the existing folk culture when contacts with the city system were first made. It is difficult to determine whether the fishermen are more indebted for their culture to the western city or to the Eskimo. Furthermore, the evidences of culture borrowing are so great as to cause us to wonder if the author does not overstress greatly the factor of isolation. This lack of definitiveness is aggravated by an absence of organization in the presentation which approaches carelessness and which is a source of no little confusion to a critical reader. Finally, in spite of a manifest desire of the author for objectivity, it is difficult to subdue a suspicion that if the genealogy of a culture trait can be traced to the city, it is to be given the sanctified label of civilization, while those traits which are not of urban origin are to be relegated to the abysmal realm of folklore.

Even with the above-mentioned limitations, the study is a most interesting dissection of the existing culture pattern of a rather simple neighborhood group. It is an exposition of how the basic traits of the folk culture are integrated and co-ordinated about three converging axial structures—work, place, and people. Probably, it would be difficult to find a study of a literate, at least semiliterate, group which more aptly delineates both the morphological and the functional co-ordinates of cultural unification than that encompassed in this monograph.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

County at Large. By Martha Collins Bayne. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College, 1937. Pp. xi, 194. \$2.00.

The Dutchess County Farmer. By Martha Collins Bayne. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College, 1936. Pp. 88. \$.25.

In 1928 the Women's City and County Club of Poughkeepsie established a fellowship for "projects in the field of social studies especially designed to further the welfare of Dutchess County through the co-operation of the Women's City and County Club and Vassar College." The fellowship, founded in memory of Margaret Lewis Norrie, a former president of the club, was planned for a six-year period, a different field of study to be undertaken every one or two years. It provided that a Vassar graduate of not more than five years' standing should study some phase of welfare work in Dutchess County.

Five publications resulted from this project of which two are of concern to our readers. The first noted above is in a sense a summary of the others well augmented by all other available sources of data, such as the various censuses, relief administration, and W.P.A. records. Both publications are artistically printed, especially *County at Large*, which also carries effective illustrations. Both are well organized and excellently written and in this respect are distinctly superior to the average survey report, especially in the intelligent use of historical factors and their interweaving with the discussions of economic life, government, agriculture, organizational relationships, welfare, public health, education, adult education, libraries, and recreation.

The second title, among other chapters has significant discussions of the social life and problems of the farmer's wife, of his children, and of the effects of summer residents and urbanization upon rural life. The sponsoring agency, it should be noted, is a city and county women's club, thus exemplifying rural-urban co-operation. Moreover, the studies have eventuated in program suggestions that are a guide to action on the part of the club. The whole enterprise is highly suggestive of ways in which women's clubs could be of real usefulness in local situations.

Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

Youth in the Toils. By Leonard V. Harrison and Pryor McNeill Grant. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. vi, 167. \$1.50.

This book, based on a survey made under the direction of a Delinquency Committee of the Boys' Bureau of New York City, has to do primarily with the purposes of criminal law and its procedures as they affect minors between the ages of 16 and 21. Actual stories of many delinquent boys are given, how they became delinquent, their experiences from the time of their arrest through their detention before trial, which may last for weeks or even months whether they are innocent or guilty, and then in the reformatory. The report honestly portrays the factors which cause so many youthful first offenders to become hardened criminals when they might, under a nonquantitative punishment theory, become rehabilitated. Our penal code is rooted in the theory of awarding punishment fitting the offense rather than of curing delinquency at its beginning through rehabilitation. The system is substantially the same in every large city. The suggestions offered by these able authorities as to how the law, the courts, and the prison system may be reformed to rehabilitate young lawbreakers and turn them into useful citizens is applicable to all cities.

The authors are eminently qualified to make recommendations for "overhauling the old mills"—to go beyond fact-finding and make specific, constructive suggestions as to changes in the existing system. Harrison is a criminologist who since 1915 has made numerous outstanding researches of police systems and the administration of criminal justice, and Grant has devoted his life to work among boys. They justly advocate, among others, the enactment of a special delinquency code for minors between 16 and 21 years of age; a new court known as the

Delinquent Minor Court organized so as to provide for the exercise of two separate functions: (a) a judicial function of determining guilt or innocence of offenses charged, and (b) a dispositional function of determining the form of treatment to be imposed upon those guilty, and that the disposition of offenders be based on a diagnostic examination by experts. This book should be widely read so that public opinion would demand modification of penal laws based on the offense rather than the offender.

Michigan State College

J. F. THADEN

An Island Community—Ecological Succession in Hawaii. By Andrew W. Lind. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. Pp. xxii, 337. \$3.00.

The author of this ecological study of Hawaiian racial succession focuses his attention primarily upon the role which land uses have played in bringing several racial stocks together, and the development of biological competition which has accompanied this contact. He traces the history of Hawaii from a period before contact with European culture, and describes the change (1780-1930) as a shift from an aboriginal subsistence economy to a large-scale, capitalistic plantation system commercially producing sugar and pineapples. Parallel and functionally related to this development a five-stage population cycle with many racial problems has arisen. The author observes that the last decade marks the closing of an economic "frontier" with various attendant sociological implications for occupational and other socioeconomic conditions, one of which is a close relation to the larger world community. Resulting from this, he sees the rise of a hybrid population educated largely in the traditions and values of the contemporary United States.

The material supposedly is restricted to what is important to an ecological analysis but it leaves the scope of ecology in such general terms that it is difficult to ascertain what is germane to the discussion. The viewpoint operative in this work merely touches the problems of race relations but in so doing leaves the way open for future investigation. The study merits a careful examination by all students of sociology and anthropology.

Columbia University

GORDON T. BOWDEN

The Catholic Family in Rural Louisiana. By Reverend Herman Joseph Jacobi. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1937. Pp. xiii, 126. \$1.00.

This monograph, by a young urban Catholic priest, is not what the title indicates—a study of "The Catholic Family in Rural Louisiana"—but rather an analysis of the religious, social, and economic conditions prevailing among a selected group of Catholics claiming French and Spanish descent, living in an isolated area of one of the most remote sections to be found in the furthermost segments of five southern Louisiana rural parishes which form a part of the Atchafalaya Swamp Basin. Schedules were taken from the 50 largest Catholic fami-

lies within this area—principally in the Pierre Part settlement, which is the largest of the five sparsely populated water-bound settlements included and studied in this 720 square miles of swampy region—supplemented by numerous interviews with the oldest and most influential persons in this area. These people for the most part earn their living by a collecting economy—fishing, moss picking, trapping, and hunting—supplemented by some part-time farming and lumbering.

The real insights into the way of life of the inhabitants were furnished by the resident pastor of the Pierre Part Catholic Church. This modest "unsung hero" is the main force behind the so-called "social evolution" that the area is now experiencing. To one acquainted with the area studied it appears that the author, in his enthusiasm to portray the Catholic philosophy of life, painted too glowing a picture of the religious ardor of the inhabitants. Critical readers may wonder if these people are not overdependent on their *Bon Dieux* and the "Relief Agencies" at the expense of trying to help themselves. The work is well written, contains 16 tables and 20 revealing photographs that are truly typical of the area.

Louisiana State University

VENON J. PARENTON

Three Iron Mining Towns. By Paul H. Landis. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1938. Pp. 148. \$1.75.

This book reports on a study of cultural changes in three mining towns on the famous Mesabi Range in Minnesota: Eveleth, Hibbing, and Virginia. It is a digest of a doctor's dissertation on the three Iron Range towns. The book presents an analysis of the cultural changes of an iron mining settlement through its periods of discovery, early development, and maturity. A brief analysis of the culture of the early lumbering industry of the Mesabi Range is also presented. The author gives as one of the hypotheses to the study that "the most fruitful place to seek the forces determining cultural change is the social group." Particular attention is therefore devoted to the relationship of social group interaction to cultural change, although the effects of cultural history, geographical factors, and demographic factors are considered.

Early newspaper accounts assist in indicating the realistic nature of the pioneer folkways and mores which were reflected in such traits as tolerance for illegal enterprises and a low evolution of human life. The pioneer culture pattern became outmoded shortly after 1900, when life became more stable in the Range area. The development of the rather lavish culture patterns of the towns are analyzed in relation to social group interactions, such as the conflict between the public and the mining companies for possession of a greater share of the wealth of the region. An analysis of cultural change is given in the closing section of the book with a very clarifying differentiation as to social and cultural change. This book should serve as a base of reference for further research in cultural change, particularly in pioneer areas.

North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station

DONALD G. HAY

Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey. By Henry Charlton Beck. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1936. Pp. 278. \$3.75.

More Forgotten Towns of Southern New Jersey. By Henry Charlton Beck. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1937. Pp. 338. \$3.75.

These companion volumes are an unsystematic and disconnected collection of 81 brief sketches dealing with scattered old towns once of some importance but now deserted and almost completely forgotten. Many of these sketches had appeared previously in local newspapers. As the author himself states, they are "stories of crumbling houses, piles of ore slag, broken bits of glass, tumbledown and burnt sawmills, as revealed by a few of that diminishing group of people who know of what they are relics."

Though primarily of local interest, these books are a contribution to Americana and of value to anyone interested in American folklore and rural life around our industrial centers. They also may have some general value as a fund of illustrations exemplifying the way in which the centralization in large cities has undermined the prosperity of local industries, with resultant deterioration of the small communities dependent upon them.

Harvard University

DUDLEY KIRK

Education in a Democracy: An Introduction to the Study of Education. By Alonzo F. Myers and Clarence O. Williams. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. xii, 434. \$3.00.

Education conceived as a social force, studied in relation to social sciences to improve society through the use of social, economic, and political forces at work makes a dynamic subject.

In brisk textbook form the authors develop the educational implications of these forces, posing problems and projects, and emphasizing results rather than procedure. Our school system and present tendencies and influences—historical, philosophical, and scientific—are considered, together with necessary pending and promising changes, and comparisons are made with foreign systems. The use of education to attain national objectives and the problems that now challenge education—reconstruction of the social order, providing guarantee of economic security, perpetuating ideas of democracy and developing international mindedness—have attention. There is a searching section, "Shall I become a teacher?" The touchstone: A good teacher must have a sound social philosophy which places the welfare of society above the rights of individuals.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
U. S. Department of Agriculture

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN

Sugar: A Case Study of Government Control. By John E. Dalton. New York: Macmillan, 1937. Pp. x, 311. \$3.00.

Some rural sociologists are studying groups whose economic base is sugar production; in every region there are economic problems and proposed solutions

similar to those in the sugar areas. There are additional problems suggested by Dalton's descriptions contrasting independent farm and plantation organization.

The bulk of this book traces the development of economic chaos in the sugar industry and indicates incisively the conditions which drove producers and processors to beg government aid in co-ordinating their affairs. The various plans proposed and the operation of the one adopted by the A.A.A. are evaluated for each of the principal continental and territorial areas, together with the effects upon the consumers. The comparative advantage analysis is utilized, but an adequate demonstration of its implications is lacking.

The author's conclusions will satisfy neither the advocates of government control of economic life nor the supporters of laissez-faire. He reveals the maze of political and economic sophistries implicit in our traditional tariff policies, but the peculiar properties of this particular industry do not permit him to attain many general conclusions applicable to the wider problem. The descriptive value of this study is great; its analytic value is slight.

Iowa Experiment Station

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

Bibliography on Land Utilization, 1918-36. Compiled by Louise O. Bercaw and Annie M. Hannay. Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, Misc. Pub. No. 284, Jan., 1938. Pp. iv, 1508. \$1.50.

Write your congressman for this bibliography. It is well worth while.

Outline of Cultural Materials. By G. P. Murdock, C. S. Ford, H. E. Hudson, R. Kennedy, L. W. Simmons, and J. W. M. Whiting. New Haven: Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1938. Pp. 55.

Cooperation or Coercion? By L. P. Jacks. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1938. Pp. xvii, 153. \$2.00.

This outline is a product of the cross-cultural survey conducted by the Institute and aims to present a scheme for organizing the available material dealing with known cultures. Other objectives are that of testing cross-cultural generalizations, and revealing deficiencies in the literature. The outline contains 55 categories with upwards of 600 subdivisions. It thus represents a far more elaborate culture outline than that of Wissler's universal pattern. There is a brief description of the content of each sub-category, with illustrations. Cross references are numerous.

The sociologist who peruses this outline can scarcely fail to be impressed with the endless detail that is necessary to distinguish one culture from another in its entirety, or even to understand the organization and ramifications of a single culture. The task of the sociologist is somewhat more limited than that of the cultural anthropologist since he more often operates *within* a culture rather than *among* cultures. Because of their relative uniformity, many of the important categories of the anthropologist, such as Language, Kinship, Numerology, and Death are taken for granted by the sociologist in his search for the mainsprings of social action and the devices of social control. And yet it is possible that he takes too much for granted. One of the fundamental difficulties of the sociologist is that

of obtaining objectivity in the analysis of a culture of which he himself is a part. It requires a degree of intellectual sophistication which often he is unable to attain. Perhaps it would be helpful if he contemplated further the systematic detail with which the cultural anthropologist proceeds. Perhaps, also, these remarks apply particularly to rural sociologists who for the most part are compelled to search for ways and means of overcoming social maladjustments. For example, it is possible that the rural sociologist might learn more of genuine value regarding the behavior of farmers from a thorough knowledge of their ethical ideas (as outlined in Section 35) than from any number of listings of the cultural objects possessed or consumed by them. It would require more than a schedule and a house-to-house canvass to accomplish this, however.

This book represents an attempt to outline a basis for international co-operation for the prevention of war. After reviewing critically the failure of international compacts and the ineffective efforts of the League of Nations to prevent war, the author concludes (1) that the success of the former rests upon the good faith of the contracting parties and up to now the necessary good faith has been lacking; (2) that the present covenant of the League of Nations requires each nation to subordinate its ambitions to the common good, a requirement which they cannot be expected to meet; (3) that as a coercive body the League must always fail without international resources and fighting machinery at its command. In the second part of the book, the author presents a general plan for international economic co-operation which is to develop concurrently with progressive-disarmament. Economic resources saved by limitation of armaments are to be paid to the League of Nations to create an international fund for the purpose of (1) stabilizing currencies and promoting international trade, (2) lowering tariff barriers, (3) financing the distribution of raw materials, (4) promoting international social services, and (5) assistance to nations in calamity. The argument is that emphasis upon economic co-operation would divert interest from war, that international economic co-operation is impossible without international capital, and that it cannot succeed without disarmament.

The book is lucidly written, with numerous illustrations. The author shows his familiarity with the subject, and is on solid ground when he argues that the standards by which individual conduct is judged and controlled cannot be applied directly to the behavior of sovereign states. His solution appears to be theoretically plausible. Practically, however, the difficulties of getting the plan under way may be insuperable.

University of Missouri

C. E. LIVELY

News Notes and Announcements

Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society of America:—There has been a considerable sentiment among members of the Society for reducing the number of prepared papers at the annual meeting, and having more time for discussion. After canvassing the matter with various members and through considerable correspondence, the Executive Committee has arranged the following program for the December, 1938, meeting. All of those invited to participate have accepted. The papers of the first two sessions will be printed in the December issue of *Rural Sociology*, so that all will have an opportunity to read them. Discussion on them will be led by five members invited to do so, and there will then be ample time for free discussion from the floor. It is hoped that this arrangement may prove profitable for the consideration of the two important topics which have been selected.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM, RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA DECEMBER, 1938

First Session. J. H. Kolb, Presiding

Topic: "The Rural Community"

Presidential Address, "Criteria for Rural Communities," Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University

"Planned Rural Communities," C. W. Loomis, Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, B. A. E., United States Department of Agriculture.

"Diagnosing Rural Community Organization," Douglas Ensminger, Cornell University

Discussion led by five invited members

General discussion

Second Session. Carl C. Taylor, presiding

Topic: Social Aspects of the Farm Labor Problem"

Papers by (topics to be selected by them): Paul H. Landis, Washington State College; Harold C. Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University; Ray E. Wakeley, Iowa State College

Discussion by five invited members

General discussion

Joint Luncheon with American Farm Economic Association

"Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture," C. Horace Hamilton, Texas A. & M. College

Third Session. Dwight Sanderson, presiding

Topic: Committee Reports and Business (20 to 30 minutes for discussion of report of each committee)

Report of Committee on Teaching, Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, Chairman

Report of Committee on Extension Work, J. B. Schmidt, Ohio State University, Chairman

Report of Committee on Research, C. Horace Hamilton, Texas A. & M. College, Chairman

Work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Carl C. Taylor, in charge

Business Meeting

Round Tables

Several Round Tables will be arranged for those interested in special topics, to the extent that time and space are available and provided that a sufficient number of members indicate their interest in specific topics to warrant holding Round Tables on them. These Round Tables will be held simultaneously and probably not for more than two sessions at such times as they can be interpolated in the general program.

The following topics have been suggested. Will members be good enough to indicate their choice in order of preference on a postcard, and mail at once to me?

Cultural Areas, led by C. E. Lively

Student Round Table, led by a student

Extension Workers, led by B. L. Hummel

Population Research

Special Interest Groups

Research Relations with Federal Agencies

Attitudes

Rural Sociology Textbooks and Courses

DWIGHT SANDERSON, President

Subcommittee on Lower-Income Rural Classes of the Advisory Committee on Economic and Social Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council (Extract from Minutes of Meeting, Brookings Institution, May 12-14, 1938) :—This Committee consists of L. C. Gray, Lowry Nelson, T. W. Schultz, Carl C. Taylor, T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Carle C. Zimmerman, Chairman.

The Subcommittee decided that it is interested in "rural" classes which is a more inclusive term than "agricultural" classes. Furthermore, the former use of the word "disadvantaged" in the Subcommittee name was held to be evaluative and not descriptive of the views of the members as to the purpose of the Subcommittee. It was held that the purpose of the Subcommittee is to outline the problems of, and to stimulate research concerning the low-income rural classes in the country.

It then drew up a preliminary report on the classes of rural families coming under the purview of the Subcommittee. This was defined as follows: "Rural (farm or village) families with 'real' family incomes from all sources of approximately not more than \$500 per annum."

Available statistics make it very difficult to isolate these families by any all-inclusive single criterion. This is due to the following facts: The census enumeration is of gross farm income; the Census does not take into account division of

income between landlord and tenant; the Census does not secure family earnings off the farm; the Census does not take into account operations of less than three acres, unless these acres produce at least \$250 gross sales, thus many rural as well as actual farm families are omitted; the agricultural Census does not include farm laborers.

However, certain approximations can be made from available statistics which will help to locate and describe some of these families. For instance:

Gross farm incomes as obtainable from the Census for the low-income groups can be reduced by approximation to net farm incomes of less than \$600 per year, as representative in part of this group studied by the Subcommittee.

It is recognized that the latest nation-wide farm income figures are for 1929 and hence do not apply very well to present conditions. Since farm incomes are given by type of farm and by country, but not for both together, both indices can be used to locate the disadvantaged rural classes.

Some of the types of farming categories of families, the majority of which have low incomes are: Share tenants, self-sufficing farmers, and part-time farmers. Some of the areas which can be said to include many of these disadvantaged rural people are as follows: Cotton South; Appalachian Ozarks, both north and south; cut-over lands; the southwestern Spanish American and Indian areas; stranded areas around industrial communities; California farm labor regions; Mormon mountain regions; many tide-water sections; and small holdings in poor-land areas. It is recognized that all these categories overlap. Certain categories are not included, such as scattered disadvantaged families and also temporary problem areas, such as those troubled by floods and droughts.

No comprehensive study has been made of any class of these families nor of all together except on the basis of certain very rough census data which is subject to the limitations pointed out above. It has been estimated that something like 50 per cent of the rural families in America fall within these groups. Many action programs are in urgent need of trustworthy information about these families. Some such are: the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Works Progress Administration, Farm Security Administration, Social Security Administration, Extension Service, Agricultural Vocational Service.

The Advisory Committee heard the above opinions concerning the aims of the Subcommittee and agreed that its work should be continued. It was felt that the first purpose of the Subcommittee is to attempt to prepare a report summarizing available data and a bibliography of studies concerning the low-income rural classes. Fortunately, since this Committee started functioning, three such summaries have been started by various governmental agencies. These are: a report by Carl C. Taylor in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; a report by Conrad Taeuber now being prepared for a committee appointed by the Secretary within the Department of Agriculture (W. W. Alexander, Chairman); and a report being prepared in the Works Progress Administration by T. J. Woofter, Jr. It was felt that the Subcommittee might try to supplement and draw from these three reports rather than duplicate any of the physical labor involved. It would

then try to advise with Taeuber, Taylor, and Woofter and borrow from them summaries of their reports rearranged and edited to fit the Committee's purposes. In order to do this it is advisable that the Subcommittee have funds to keep in contact with these workers in the government.

After such a survey report becomes available, it should be typed and circulated among the members of the Subcommittee who would study the information, consult with outsiders and each draft a report concerning research problems of these disadvantaged rural classes. On the basis of these separate reports the Subcommittee should meet and draft a preliminary report for the Advisory Committee to contain: (1) a copy of the descriptive summary and available information on the disadvantaged rural classes, and (2) an analysis of research problems involved.

It was hoped that such a document if prepared and published would give impetus and guidance to research in a much neglected field.

It was agreed further that the members of the Subcommittee might send to the Chairman a letter giving a few preliminary problems which should, in their opinion, be the object of current investigation. These are to be arranged by the Chairman into a note for *Rural Sociology*.

Statement by Carl C. Taylor:—Two major types of analyses are essential if we are to know more about the disadvantaged classes in American agriculture. The first is an analysis of who these people are and where they live by a method which will eliminate duplication of classes. It is quite possible that we will be driven to one criterion such as gross family income in order to establish a benchmark. This should, however, be gross *family* income and not gross *farm* income in order to give consideration to income earned off the farm and to the division of the total farm income between landlord and tenant, and operator and hired laborer. It is apparent that this analysis cannot be made from census data unless more adequate and differentiated data are gathered and tabulated in the census report.

The second analysis needs to be of the causes which lead to disadvantaged status. Studies thus far made have, by and large, been able to depict only results and conditions. When causes are analyzed considerable contribution will be made toward the elimination of duplication in classes and the transfer will be made from "classes" to "causes, conditions, and trends."

In addition to these two basic analyses, an attempt should be made to obtain answers to the following specific questions:

1. To what extent are disadvantaged farm families examples of inherited low status—that is, the status having run within the family over a number of generations—and to what extent are they products of the agricultural ladder working in reverse—that is, members of families who in previous generations had higher status but who now have lost that status?
2. To what extent are families displaced in agriculture becoming (a) transient labor still living in their old communities, (b) transient part-time or full-time laborers living in villages and towns, (c) transient laborers who are migrating into other areas and communities, (d) others?

3. To what extent in various regions of the Nation have long-time operators—laborers, sharecroppers, or tenants—been displaced by (a) mechanization, (b) crop production control and restriction, (c) other causes?
4. To what extent in the various regions of the Nation can disadvantaged farm families alleviate their conditions by practicing more adequate and efficient "live-at-home," "subsistence," or "self-sufficient" farm and home economy?

I think it is highly desirable that research in this field not be solely a description of the distressing or depressed conditions of farm families, but rather a clear-headed analysis of the fundamental trends in operation together with the causes as well as the human effects or results of these trends. It is my belief that such analyses will reveal not only many facts of which we are not aware, but some facts which, unless definitely established, we will be inclined to repudiate. It might develop information which would suggest that we sharply modify our whole gamut of agricultural programs.

CARL C. TAYLOR, in charge
Division of Farm Population and Rural Life

Statement by Lowery Nelson:—Suggested fields in which need for research is now apparent:

I. Agricultural labor:

1. More adequate classification and description of types of wage-workers.
2. Studies in employer-employee relations with reference to types of workers.
3. Effects of mechanization and rationalization of agriculture on demand for human labor.
 - (a) Extent of labor displacement caused by recent machine introduction in cotton, corn, and sugar beet production.
 - (b) Results of displaced labor.
4. Effectiveness of farm labor placement agencies—public and private.
5. Relation of Emergency programs (especially W.P.A., A.A.A.) to the demand for and supply of agricultural labor.
6. Reaction of farmers to the labor features of the Sugar Act of 1937, specifically the wage-fixing and child labor features.
7. The community relations of wage laborers in agriculture.
8. Appraisal of the experience of F.S.A. with operations of farm labor camps in California.

II. Analysis and appraisal of programs designed to aid the disadvantaged:

1. Analysis of rural rehabilitation case records to show:
 - (a) Characteristics and background of families on rehabilitation.
 - (b) Appraisal of effectiveness of procedures used in rehabilitating families.
 - (c) Community relation of rural rehabilitation families.
2. Analysis of resettlement project to determine:
 - (a) Economic and social effects upon resettled families.
3. Analysis of Farm Tenancy Program (F.S.A.).
 - (a) Procedures.
 - (b) Type of family involved.
 - (c) Social implications of program.

(Essential thing needed immediately is information basic to establishing "bench-marks" against which changes can be charted.)

Michigan State College:—The Tenth Annual Institute of Social Welfare sponsored by the Michigan State Conference of Social Work, the State Emergency Relief Commission, the State Welfare Department, and the State Corrections Commission, was held at Michigan State College July 18-22. This was attended by approximately four hundred and fifty persons, mainly from the smaller towns and rural areas of the state.

On April 30, 1938, the Michigan Country Life Association met on the campus of the State College in connection with the annual meeting of the youth section of the Michigan Country Life Association. The Association adopted a resolution to the effect that the Association call a conference to develop policies and programs on which all affiliated organizations can unite.

The retirement of Dr. Eben Mumford, who founded the Department of Sociology in 1924, became effective September 1, 1938. He is succeeded by Dr. Paul Honigsheim of the National University of Panama. Dr. Honigsheim was formerly Extraordinary Professor of Sociology at Cologne University, but left Germany in 1936 after the rise of the Hitler government. Dr. Honigsheim will be Associate Professor of Sociology and will devote half of his time to research.

Oklahoma A. & M. College:—Mr. Robert T. McMillan, Research Assistant in Rural Sociology, has been awarded a General Education Board Fellowship for 1938-39 and will do graduate study at Louisiana State University.

Mr. John H. McClure, formerly Assistant State Supervisor of Rural Research for the F.E.R.A. in Alabama, has been named as Research Assistant in Rural Sociology for the coming year.

Social Science Research Council:—The following are the Southern Grant-in-Aid appointees for 1938-39:

Howard K. Beale, Professor of History, University of North Carolina, for a study of the life of Theodore Roosevelt

Richmond Croom Beatty, Assistant Professor of English, Vanderbilt University, for a biography of T. B. Macauley

William Patterson Cumming, Professor of English, Davidson College, for a historic-cartographical study of the southeastern region of the United States

Luther Porter Jackson, Professor of History, Virginia State College, for a study of slavery in urban Virginia

William Sumner Jenkins, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina, for a study of the amending processes of the Constitution of the United States

James Cecil Nelson, Associate Professor of Marketing, University of Tennessee, for a study of motor carrier regulation in the state of Tennessee

Benjamin U. Ratchford, Professor of Economics, Duke University, for a study of the debts of the American states

Fritz L. Redlich, Professor of Economics, Mercer University, for a study of American business leaders

Maurice O. Ross, Associate Professor of Finance, University of Tennessee, for a study of state regulation and control of commercial banking in Tennessee

South Dakota State College:—The Department of Rural Sociology has recently released for distribution a bulletin entitled "The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935." Copies of this may be had upon request to Professor W. F. Kumlien, Department of Sociology, South Dakota State College, Brookings, South Dakota.

The Agricultural Experiment Station has recently published its *Bulletin No. 318*: "The Extent of Dependency upon Old Age Assistance in South Dakota." This also may be had on request, to the Experiment Station.

Syracuse University:—Dr. William C. Lehmann, associate professor of sociology, has been granted a year's leave of absence to accept a visiting professorship in sociology at Tulane University for the year 1938-39.

University of Tennessee:—Mr. Frank M. Fitzgerald has been appointed State Supervisor of Rural Research in Tennessee, succeeding Mr. E. E. Briner, who has resigned.

A new course on the economic and social history of agriculture will be given next year at the Tennessee College of Agriculture. It will be required of all students in the college.

Texas University:—Mr. Logan Wilson of Texas University, more recently instructor in sociology at Harvard, will be assistant Book Review Editor of *Rural Sociology* for the coming year.

The State College of Washington:—The second Summer Institute for Rural Religious Leaders, sponsored by the Rural Sociology Department at the State College of Washington in co-operation with the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, was held from July 25 to August 5, 1938. Forty-two ministers, representing the three states of the Inland Empire, were in attendance.

University of Wisconsin:—Dr. J. H. Kolb will be back at the University of Wisconsin for the fall semester, to carry on his regular administrative, teaching, and research program. He has been on leave the past semester and the summer acting as adviser to a recently created Social Science Research Bureau, for the New Zealand Government. This in turn is a part of a Department of Scientific and Industrial Research which has other units.

